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HISTORY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
1819 - 1919

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE





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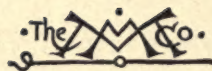


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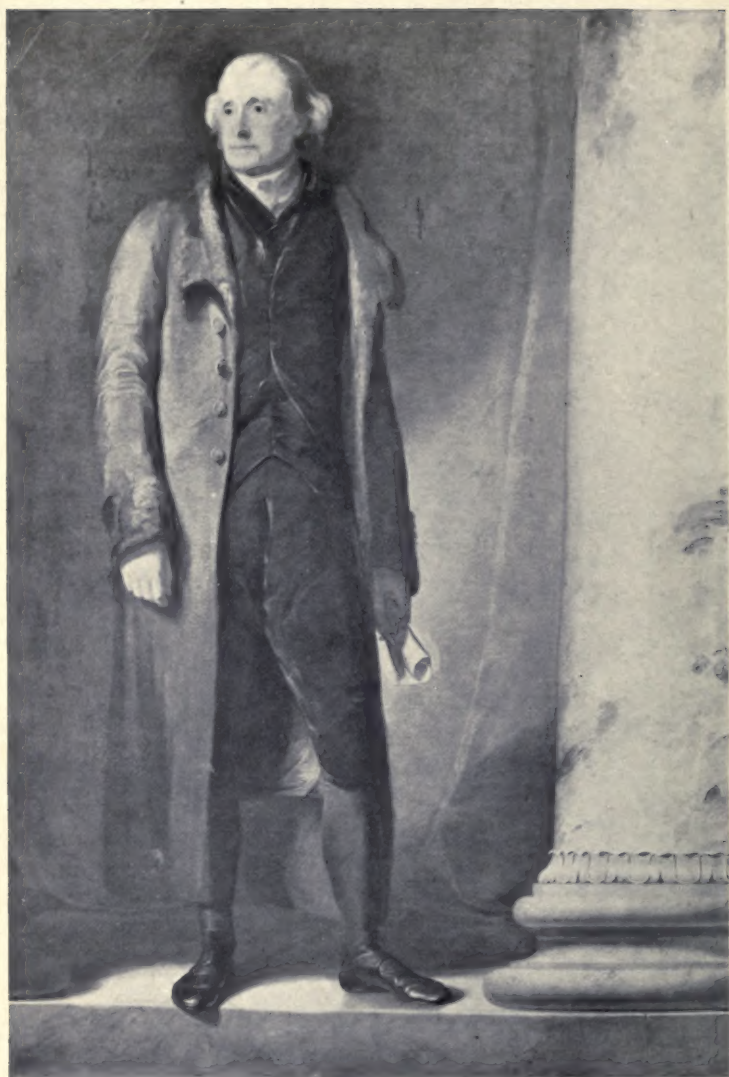
VOLUME I



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THOMAS JEFFERSON

HISTORY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
1819-1919

The Lengthened Shadow of One Man

BY

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, LL.B., LL.D.

AUTHOR OF

"Economic, Institutional, and Social Histories of Virginia in the
Seventeenth Century;" "Plantation Negro as a Freeman;"

"Rise of the New South;" "Life of General Robert E.

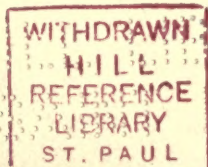
Lee;" "Brave Deeds of Confederate Soldiers;"

"Short History of United States," etc.

Centennial Edition

VOLUME I

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AND

PREFACE

1. *Method of Treatment*

The history of the University of Virginia, during the one hundred years of its existence, can be related in three different ways. First, as annals, with an inflexible fidelity to the flow of events from year to year; second, as a series of monographs,—the theme of each to be treated separately for the entire interval of time lying between 1819 and 1919; or third, as a succession of periods,—each period growing out of the preceding one, but dissimilar in length, in problems, and in achievements. To present that history in the form of annals would be to introduce unavoidably definite elements of incoherence and desultoriness. To narrate it in the form of a series of independent monographs would be to destroy its fundamental unity, and the close inter-relations of its almost innumerable phases. On the other hand, to consider it as a succession of periods permits of the retention of all the advantages of chronological sequence and of separate exposition subject by subject, with the discursiveness of the one and the disconnection of the other substantially modified.

The history of the University of Virginia lends itself fully to a narration by periods. Thus we have the First Period,—the period when there was a persistent struggle for the incorporation of a university, in which Jefferson was the great protagonist; the Second Period,—the period of germination, when Albemarle Academy and Central College were rapidly developing into a seat of higher

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learning; the Third Period,— the period of construction, which saw the erection of the buildings, the adoption of the regulations, and the selection of the professors; the Fourth Period,— the period of formation and experimentation, which began with the opening of the University to students; the Fifth Period,— the period of reformation and expansion, as illustrated in the introduction of the Honor System, the establishment of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the addition of new lecture halls and new schools; the Sixth Period,— the period of the war, when the activities of the institution were almost suspended; the Seventh Period,— the period of reconstruction and re-expansion, which succeeded that conflict; the Eighth Period,— the period of restoration, which followed the Great Fire; and finally, the Ninth Period,— the period of the presidency, in which the drift has been towards a broader democratization, in harmony with the dominant spirit of our own times. It is this division of my general subject which I have adopted in the present work.

II. *Foreword to Volumes I and II*

In the preparation of Volumes I and II, I have enjoyed the advantage of access to the following illuminating manuscripts which had not before been used for the same general purpose. The Misses Cocke, of Bremon, kindly placed at my disposal the correspondence of General John Hartwell Cocke; Dr. William C. Rives, of Washington, D. C., the correspondence of his grandfather, the statesman, William Cabell Rives; Judge John C. Rutherford, Miss Elizabeth Johnson, Mrs. John B. Henneman and Mr. Malcolm G. Bruce, family letters

written from the University previous to 1842; Colonel W. Gordon McCabe, letters of Frank G. Ruffin descriptive of his impressions as a student; Mr. Armistead C. Gordon, the letters of General William Fitzhugh Gordon and his wife; Mrs. Caroline Ellis, the correspondence of her grandfather and father, Governor James Barbour and B. Johnson Barbour; Misses Bessie and Margaret Gaines, family letters of their father, the late Major R. V. Gaines; Professor Raleigh C. Minor, the diary of Professor John B. Minor; Professor Dunnington, the minutes of the Temperance Society; Mr. M. S. Dimmock, the manuscript papers belonging to the University Library which were gathered up after the Great Fire; Professor Lancaster, a copy of a letter which throws light on the offer of the Presidency of the University to William Wirt.

Two collections of letters and papers in the possession of the University of Virginia have furnished me with a large amount of hitherto unused information. I refer (1) to the loose documents, in the form of vouchers, receipts, letters, deeds and the like, now in the custody of the Registrar; and (2) to the mass of unassorted letters and public papers of Joseph C. Cabell presented to the Library by his heirs. This latter collection is quite as valuable as the well-known volume published with the title of *Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell*, and under the editorship of Mr. N. F. Cabell. For thoughtful points of view as well as for important facts, I am indebted to the following books: Patton's *Jefferson, Cabell and University of Virginia*; Garnett and Barringer's *University of Virginia, Its Influence, Example and Characteristics*; Professor Minor's *Sketch of the University of Virginia in the Old Dominion Magazine*; Rev. Edgar

Woods's *History of Albemarle County*; Professor Adams's *University of Virginia*; Professor Lambeth's *Jefferson as an Architect*; Professor Fiske Kimball's *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*; Professor William P. Trent's *Sketch of English Culture in Virginia*; Dr. Tyler's *Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital*, and Professor Heatwole's *History of Education in Virginia*.

The following monographs have also been of use to me in the study of the Third and Fourth Periods: Professor Charles A. Graves's *Martin Dawson*; Professor Thomas FitzHugh's *Letters of George Long*; William C. Rives, Jr.'s, *Life and Character of William B. Rogers*; Professor George Tucker's *Memoir of Dr. Emmet*; Professor Broadus's *Address on Gessner Harrison*; Dr. George Tucker Harrison's *Address on James L. Cabell*; and Colonel W. Gordon McCabe's *Virginia Schools Before and After the Revolution*.

Edgar Allan Poe, the most famous alumnus of the University of Virginia, was a student during the Fourth Period. I have deferred an account of his connection with the institution to the history of the Fifth Period, which will contain chapters descriptive of the distinguished alumni of these early times.

In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. John S. Patton, the Librarian of the University, and his assistants, Misses Mary and Estelle Dinwiddie, for the unfailing aid which they afforded me in my examination of the books and manuscripts now in their custody. I was indebted too to Mr. Howard Winston, the late Registrar, for his kindness in facilitating my use of the unbound collection of the Proctor's Papers stored in his office; and also to the executive committee of the General Alumni Association of the University of Vir-

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ginia — at whose request the preparation of this work was undertaken by me — for the encouragement which they have given me throughout its prosecution.

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE.

University of Virginia,
March 7, 1920.

AUTHORITIES FOR VOLUMES I AND II

INTRODUCTION

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FIRST PERIOD

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HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

INTRODUCTORY

THE IMPRESS OF JEFFERSON

I. Father of the University

Thomas Jefferson, from early manhood until the end of his sixty-sixth year, had, with short intervals of private life, filled in succession the highest offices in the gift of the popular voice. He had served in the General Assembly and in the first Virginia Convention; had been a member of the Continental Congress and Governor of the Commonwealth; had been Minister to the Court of Versailles, Secretary of State in Washington's Cabinet and Vice-President of the United States; and, finally, at the summit of his career, had been President during one of the most pregnant and critical eras in American history. He had won distinction in the very different parts of legislator, diplomat, and executive. His name had been coupled with all the events forming the great milestones of his time, with the solitary exception of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, which was drafted and ratified during his absence in France.

Towards the close of his life, looking back, with tranquil discrimination, upon the achievements of his great career, he wrote down a list of the acts which he conceived to be his principal claims upon the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. This list embraced all those,

which, before the establishment of the University of Virginia, had brought him conspicuously into the eyes and minds of men,—not one of any substantial importance, legislative, executive or educational, was omitted. It began with his public spirited example, as a young man, in opening up the shallow waters of his native Rivanna to the navigation of batteaux; then passed on to his authorship of the Declaration of Independence; to his separation of Church and State in Virginia; to his destruction there of the laws of entail and primogeniture; to his paternity of the statute that prohibited the further importation of slaves; of the one defining the rights of naturalization; of the one making more humane the punishment of crime; and of the bill of 1779 for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. He closed as he began with the mention of an act of utilitarian patriotism, seemingly little in itself but really of far-reaching consequence: his introduction of olives and a more hardy and fecund species of rice into the Southern States. There was, in the list, not the slenderest hint of the political honors which had been showered upon him so generously by his countrymen.

In extreme old age, when he had had a longer time to weigh and set the nicest value upon all the incidents of his life, he determined to revise this first list, and in abbreviating and condensing it, to retain only those facts which indicated most clearly the characteristic spirit of his career in all its phases. What was this spirit? The governing and driving power of Jefferson's whole course from youth to old age was love of freedom,—freedom of the mind in its outlook in every direction and on all things; freedom of the soul, in its beliefs; freedom of action for the individual in every personal relation, and in every department of human affairs, so far as it was not repugnant to morality, law and order. Which were the

achievements of his life that, in his final judgment, reflected most faithfully and pointedly this overtopping, this all-animating aspiration of his entire existence? When, after his death, his papers were examined to discover his wishes for the disposal of his body, the following memorandum was found among them, and the more closely we scrutinize its details, the more comprehensive does it show itself as the matured expression of the mainspring of his long career:

Here lies Thomas Jefferson,
Author of the Declaration of Independence,
Of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom,
And Father of the University of Virginia.

His last thought, as we thus perceive, was occupied, in no egotistic spirit, with only three facts of his life; but they were the three, which, in his opinion, made up his greatest contributions to the noblest of all causes,—the cause of freedom. As the author of the Declaration, he had proclaimed the tyranny of all Governments that had not received their authority directly from the consent of the governed; as the author of the Virginia statute, he had proclaimed, with equal emphasis, the tyranny of all spiritual domination that was rejected by the intelligence; and as the Father of the University of Virginia, he was convinced that he had founded a seat of learning that, for ages, would help to preserve that freedom of mind, spirit, and individual action, which he had always so persistently advocated with tongue and pen, and which, by his acts, he had done so much to encourage, to strengthen, and to perpetuate.

There have been few men in our political history who have had so accurate a command of the English language, in its nicest shades of meaning, as Jefferson. He was al-

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ways lucid and precise in the use of the written word. It will be noticed that he did not describe himself as the Founder of the University of Virginia but as the Father. Now, there is an important difference in the significance of the two words, as employed in this connection, entirely apart from any hint of endowment which may vaguely linger about the former. There have been many founders of scholastic institutions in the United States, but few fathers of such institutions. Those great seats of learning, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Chicago, and Leland Stanford, Jr.,—to mention only the most eminent,—had their respective origins in the benefactions of single philanthropists, who were content to impart in a general way only, if they imparted at all, the trend and color of certain principles to the aims of those universities, and to the methods of their administration. But it cannot be said of them to the degree that can be so often said of a father in relation to his children, that their transmitted influence has never ceased to shape those creations of their benevolence, in the smallest detail as well as in the largest, from the time the first charter was obtained and the first stone was laid, down to the present hour.

On the other hand, had Jefferson been in a position to endow the projected University of Virginia with a million dollars of his own, it would still have been more correct to speak of him as the Father of that institution than as its Founder. He was not merely the father of it in the spiritual and intellectual sense: he was the father of it in a corporeal sense also, for he designed the structure in the main from dome to closet, and he superintended its erection from the earliest to almost the last brick and lath. It was he who had carried at the front of his mind for more than a generation the unrealized con-

ception of a university for his native Commonwealth; who, through all this long period of disappointment, but not of discouragement, pressed it upon the attention of the General Assembly; who, when it was at last incorporated in its earliest form as a college, selected its site and surveyed its boundaries; who, after its final charter was granted, kept up a persistent and successful struggle with faction, prejudice, and ignorance, to obtain from the State the funds needed for its completion; who, after its doors were thrown open, thought out minutely and laid down with precision its courses of instruction; who chose many of the text-books; formed the library; nominated all the professors; and finally drafted all the laws for the general administration of the institution, and all the regulations for the enforcement of discipline among the students. Almost daily, if the weather was fair, he rode down from his mountain-top to the University to watch the progress of the building; and when prevented from doing this, turned from that lofty height upon the unfinished structures the far-reaching eyes of his telescope.

There is hardly another instance in our educational history which approaches the noble, the almost pathetic, solicitude which the illustrious octogenarian showed for this child of his of brick and stone. "I have only this single anxiety in this world," he declared. "It is a bantling of forty years' birth and nursing, and if I can see it on its legs, I will sing, with serenity and pleasure, my *nunc dimittis*." Nor did this brooding thought leave him even when he lay on his death-bed at Monticello, for his physician tells us that he constantly speculated as to the name of his probable successor in the rectorship,—that office upon which most depended the intelligent management of its affairs.

II. *Political Principles*

No biography can be accepted as complete which fails to scrutinize the qualities of the parentage of its subject. The laws of heredity are equally applicable to the University of Virginia, for all its principal characteristics, as we have just seen, were, in the beginning, derived from the moulding hand of Jefferson. The first one hundred years of its history turns in a very real and practical sense upon the spirit which was breathed into its working organization at the start by the liberal, versatile, and sagacious brain of one man. Madison, who, from its foundation, was a member of the Board of Visitors, very frequently reminded the members of that body of the propriety of permitting their venerable rector to carry out all the plans which he had framed for its benefit; and he did this, not simply because that rector's judgment was entitled to peculiar deference, but chiefly because,—as the scheme was, in the beginning, his own,—the responsibility for its failure or success would fall on him.

Apart from its architectural setting, which was entirely of his dictation, there were three conspicuous aspects in which the University of Virginia reflected the spirit of Jefferson: (1) in its political creed; (2) in its freedom from every form of sectarianism; and (3) in its complete dedication to the advancement of science.

Jefferson's almost extravagant love of freedom was, perhaps, more vividly reflected in his political principles than in any other branch of his convictions. He was in favor of that system of government which would hamper the least the natural liberty of the individual. This liberty, both in private relations and in public, was to be as completely without restraints as the working requirements of organized society would permit. Men

were to be taught to discipline themselves so firmly and so unselfishly that the controlling hand of a central power would be hardly needed at all; such central power as did exist should have before it as its supreme object, not the curbing of the bad instincts and impulses of mankind, but the bestowal upon the multitude of the highest degree of happiness possible for humanity. Freedom and Happiness,—these, in his opinion, were the principal ends which all governments, as well as all acquisitions of knowledge, were designed to subserve. “The general spread of science,” he wrote only a few days before his death, when his hand trembled so violently that he could, with difficulty, retain the pen in his fingers, “has already laid open to every view the truth that the mass of mankind have not been born with saddles on their backs; nor a favored few booted and spurred ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God.”

It was his hatred of tyranny, expressed so graphically in this remarkable imagery, that made him the implacable opponent of all special privilege, whether entrenched in law or in immemorial custom. It was this feeling,—which burnt in his breast even in youth,—that prompted him to bring forward in the General Assembly the bill for the abolition of entail and primogeniture, so as to throw the soil again into the hands of the many; for the separation of Church and State, so as to remove all the galling burdens from the backs of the Dissenters; and, finally, for the suppression of the harsh features of criminal law by reducing the number of capital offenses from twenty-nine to two. And it was this same feeling also that led him to draft the bill to put a stop to the further importation of slaves; and that caused him to favor a second bill that would have brought about gradual manumission, had the opinion of the public, at that time,

been as ripe for such a farsighted measure as his own. His views on this momentous subject reflected most conspicuously the openness of his mind as well as the clearness of his vision: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free. . . . The way, I hope, is preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for total emancipation." There was presented to him, afterwards, but one other great opportunity to show, in attempted legislation, his eagerness to uproot African bondage, and he did not let it pass: in his original plan for the organization of a government for the Northwest Territory, he provided that the States to be carved out of that area, should, after 1800, be prohibited from holding slaves.

Valuing liberty even to the point of favoring the emancipation of the negroes, and the curtailment of the punishment of criminals, to what did Jefferson look for its preservation? He asserted again and again that the people at large were the only bulwark of a free government. "What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every country which has ever existed under the sun?" he asked. "The concentration of all laws and powers into one body. I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves." "Whenever the people are well informed," he wrote to Dr. Price in 1789, "they can be trusted with their own government." He urged up to the end that the citizens of every community should retain control over all persons intrusted with the reins of administration, for, should they neglect to do so, such authority was sure to be perverted to their own oppression, and to the perpetuation of wealth and dominion among the members of the intriguing office-holding caste. With Hamilton, his persistent antagonist, he believed that virtue and intelligence should always be

in the ascendancy in political life; but, unlike Hamilton, he was convinced that intelligence and virtue could only have room for full play if the natural right of every man to the enjoyment of the suffrage,—whether he was a property-owner or not,—was candidly acknowledged and ungrudgingly granted. He would have relieved the suffrage of all restrictions; and it was his clear perception of the fact that suffrage unrestricted could not be of the most beneficent service to the individual and the community unless education was also universal, that caused him, as we shall see, to advocate so earnestly a general system of public instruction. It was this epochal proviso that saved his sweeping opinion from the taint of demagogism.

Did Jefferson exaggerate the danger to popular freedom in thinking, as he did, that it was always threatened by the open or furtive encroachments of rulers, local or national alike? The events through which he had passed in early manhood unquestionably inflamed his imagination in its outlook even on the events of the normal years in which his later life was spent. The arrogant conduct of the British Government towards the American colonists before the Revolution; the exasperations of that conflict after it had once begun; his observation of the unequal laws in France, and the consequent prostration of its people in the mass, previous to the destruction of the monarchy,—all this had convinced him that there was an instinctive and unavoidable antagonism between rulers and ruled, unless the rulers were chosen by the majority of the people; and that, even when they were, eternal vigilance was the price of liberty.

Jefferson was the only statesman of the first order in those times, violent as they were in both America and Europe, who always, and with palpable sincerity, ex-

pressed the firmest confidence in the virtue and wisdom of the people at large. The most maturely considered and most cautiously framed document of that period was the Federal Constitution. Why is its tenor throughout characterized by so many checks and balances? Largely, no doubt, because it was only by compromise that the sectional antagonisms of the Convention could be reconciled, but, perhaps, principally because even that noble body of patriots, in their secret consciousness, did not, like Jefferson, place a solid reliance on the trustworthiness of the people. "It is an axiom of my mind," he affirmed on more than one occasion, "that our liberty can never be safe but in the people's hands"; and then he always added significantly, "I mean the people with a certain degree of instruction."

It is one of the strangest riddles of American history that a man born like himself to wealth and high social position, and in a community in which the English conception of class distinctions still lingered, should have understood so clearly and thoroughly the aspirations of the people as a mass that he should have become their articulate voice. How did he catch with such niceness the democratic idea? Was it taken in with the free atmosphere of his frontier hills and mountains and wild primeval woods? Or was he simply a philosophical radical, a speculative sage, who had reached his conclusions by thought and reading alone? There was no more outcropping of the democrat in Jefferson's personal bearing and domestic surroundings than in Washington's; and yet so obnoxious were his opinions to many of his fellow-countrymen that he was roundly and widely decried as a demagogue, a jacobin, an atheist, and an anarchist. And yet what were the fundamental principles that he promulgated? First, that all men should stand upon ex-

actly the same platform of equal privileges and equal opportunities before the law; secondly, that every nation, great or small, should possess the right to administer its own affairs free from all dictation, compulsion, or interference from other nations.

In Jefferson's life-time, as in our own, there prevailed two views of what should be the relations of the State to the individual, and of the individual to the State. According to one view, the first duty of the individual was to forward the welfare of the State; according to the other, the only duty of the State was to exercise a general oversight, which was to leave the individual in spirit and in practice to his own self-government. Under the second system, the individual is all important; under the first, he is of as small consequence as one ant in a nest of millions. The single ant is of no interest; the millions as a body are of supreme interest. Now, Jefferson had no toleration for such a theory of the Commonwealth as this. He objected even to a benevolent interference by the State in the affairs of men, and looked upon all rules and regulations for government as arbitrary, however wise in themselves, unless they resulted directly from the action of the majority of the people. It was one of his firmest convictions, after the Revolution had begun, that America was destined to run a career entirely different in temper and in fruitfulness from the civilization of Europe; and long before the foot of the last English soldier had passed from American soil, he brought in those measures in the General Assembly of Virginia which would introduce at once a condition of society antipathetic, from top to bottom, to that society which still prevailed in England, and which had previously prevailed in Virginia. By knocking away the cornerstones, he justly anticipated that the whole structure of privilege and monopoly would

tumble to the ground. Abolition of the law of entail would put an end to the automatic preservation of wealth in the hands of a few families from generation to generation; abolition of the law of primogeniture,— which had made the eldest son rich and all his brothers poor,— would, by distributing the inheritance, not only improve the pecuniary fortunes of the majority, but also diffuse among them a passion for equality in all things; while the separation of the Church from the State would destroy sectarian ascendancy at a blow, and like the subdivision of lands, would reduce each denomination to the level of all.

It was Jefferson's uncompromising hostility to privilege in every form, whether it showed itself in the prerogatives of kings and nobles, or in the exclusive inheritance of an elder son, or in the tithes of a state church, that caused him to judge so harshly the principles and policies of the Federalist party. His antagonism to that party was unquestionably embittered by political opposition and personal resentment, but, for deeper reasons than these, it would still have inflamed his mind had he never filled an office or left his library and fields at Monticello. "The leaders of Federalism," he wrote Governor Hall, "say that man cannot be trusted with his own government. Every man and every body of men on earth possess the right of self-government." "I am not a Federalist," he said to Francis Hopkinson, in 1789, "because I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party of men, whether in religion, in philosophy, in politics, or in anything else, when I was capable of thinking for myself. Such an addiction is the last degradation of a free and moral agent." The then powerful party of the Federalists was stigmatized by him as the Parricide party, because, he asserted, they were

basely willing to sell what their fathers had so bravely won. Or he spoke of them as the Monarchist party, because they accepted, he said, the newly-adopted republican form of government only as a stepping stone to a monarchical one. He never forgot that, when he arrived in New York, in 1790, from France, to become Secretary of State in Washington's Cabinet, he found himself plunged in a society, that, boldly expressing a preference for royalty, did not hesitate to make a target of him, in whatever company he might mingle, because, fresh from the French Revolution, in its first and pure stage, and consequently somewhat "whetted up in his republican principles," as he declared, he ventured to dispute the sentiments which he heard pronounced on every side.

It is to be inferred from these perhaps exaggerated impressions that Jefferson was a staunch opponent of centralization in the National Government. He desired to keep unbroken the line that had been drawn between the Federal and State administrations by the Constitution, and to strengthen the barriers raised to prevent the one in the future from stepping over into the province of the other. He favored the inviolable conservation of that instrument within the bounds of the precise sense in which it was adopted by its framers: the reservation to the States of all powers not expressly delegated to the National Government, and the limitation of the latter's executive and legislative branches particularly to the powers granted to those branches, without any right whatever to trespass on the jurisdiction of the judicial branch.

In a letter to Samuel Kincheloe, in 1816, he summarized this section of his political creed as follows: "We should marshal our Government in (1) the General Federal Republic, for all concerns foreign or federal; (2)

the State Republics, for what relates to our citizens exclusively; (3) the County Republics, for the duties and concerns of the county; and (4) the Ward Republics, for the small and yet numerous and interesting concerns of the neighborhood."

If there should be an attempt on the part of the highest of these republics to steal or leap beyond its own legitimate area, how was the usurpation to be met? The famous *Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99*, formulated the principles and the policy alike which Jefferson approved: that the Constitution was a compact between the different States and the United States, and that all violations of that compact on the part of the Federal Government, by assuming functions not intrusted to it, were illegal and without force; that the General Government was not made by this compact the exclusive or final arbiter of the powers delegated to itself; that, as in all other cases of compact in which there was no common judge, each party had an equal right to determine whether an infraction had been committed; and if so, the manner in which it should be redressed. Jefferson was always most vehemently jealous of judicial encroachments on the rights of the States backed by the power of the Federal Executive. In 1825, he was very much disquieted by the decisions of the Supreme Court; by the orders of the President, John Quincy Adams; and by the misconstructions of the Constitution, which, in his opinion, signalized many of the legislative measures. "It is but evident," he said in a letter to W. B. Giles, "that the three ruling branches of that department (the National Government) are in combination to strip their colleagues, the States' authorities, of the powers reserved by them, and to exercise themselves all functions, foreign and domestic." "Are we to stand to our arms?" he asked. "That must be the

last resource, not to be thought of until much longer and greater sufferings. . . . We must have fortitude and longer endurance with our brethren while under delusion . . . and separate from our companions only when the sole alternatives left are the dissolution of our Union with them, or submission to a government without limitation of powers. Between these two evils, when we must take a choice, there can be no hesitation."

Such, in bare outlines, were the political principles of Jefferson; and it was these principles that he required to be taught in the University of Virginia. They were derived by that University directly from him; and unless they are taken into account at the start, the true character of the institution, as fashioned by his devoted zeal, cannot be fully understood. He announced, before its doors were thrown open, that, with one exception, all the professors were to be permitted to choose the textbooks for their respective classes; but that exception was a vital one, for it was the professor of law. The textbooks assigned to this member of the Faculty had first to receive the approval of the Rector and the Board before they could be used in his lecture-room in the instruction of his pupils. The new university, he said, was not to be suffered to become a hot-bed for the propagation of political doctrines destructive of State and Nation alike. Monarchical Federalism and the consolidation of the powers of government were heresies to be fought there with all the fiery energy of a council of mediaeval churchmen. And no quarter whatever was to be given. He was firmly resolved that, in the inculcation of his political principles from those platforms at least, no room at all was to be left for the display of opposition or even of doubt. There was unquestionably a spirit of narrowness and even of bigotry in the uncompromising attitude

which he thus assumed. "The young lawyers," he wrote Madison, a few months before his death, "no longer know what Whiggism and Republicanism mean. It is in our seminary that that vestal flame is to be kept alive. It is thence to spread anew over our own and sister States. If we are true and vigilant in our trust, within a dozen or twenty years, a majority of our own legislature will be from our own school, and many disciples will have carried its doctrines home with them to their several States, and will have leavened thus the whole mass."¹

Who were the contumacious lawyers thus stigmatized? They were the young Virginians of that day who had been converted to the political doctrines which John Marshall advocated, and which they had acquired from him during their practice in his circuit, or in personal intercourse with him in the social circles of Richmond. When it was planned to remove the College of William and Mary to that city, Jefferson opposed it, not simply because it would raise up a formidable rival to his own University, but also because it would become an instrument, through the influence of the Chief Justice, whose residence was there, for the propagation of the political creed of the Federalists throughout the Southern States. Nor could he refrain from a bitter fling at Harvard and Princeton for the same reason. Harvard was destroying the patriotism of Southern youths who entered its lecture-halls, with lessons of anti-Missourianism, while Princeton, one half of whose students had come up from the South, was busy sowing the seeds of prejudice in their minds against the "sacred principles of the Holy Alliance of Restrictionists."

The list of the textbooks drawn up for the use of the

¹ "Much depends on the University of Virginia," Monroe wrote to Cocke in January, 1829, "as to the success of our system of government."

professor of law indicates the works which Jefferson considered the best for inculcating the only political principles which he would tolerate. It embraced Sidney's *Discourse*, and Locke's *Essay on Civil Government*, the *Declaration of Independence*, the *Federalist*, the *Virginia Resolutions of 1798*, and the *Inaugural Speech and Farewell Address* of Washington. It was by the study of these classical authorities,—as he himself said to the committee of the Transylvania University in 1819, a few months after his own seat of learning had been incorporated,—that he expected to make the young men under its arcades desirous, on the one hand, “of bringing all mankind together in concord and fraternal love,” and determined, on the other, “to preserve as the sheet-anchor of the people's hope and happiness, the sacred form and principles of the State and Federal Constitutions.” And there was another course of instruction which he was equally resolved to require, and for the same reason: the study of Anglo-Saxon, he thought, was necessary, not simply because the pupil would become versed thereby in a neglected department of invaluable knowledge, but primarily because, in learning that language, he would drink in with it all the primitive principles of free government.

III. *Religious Views*

Whilst the University of Virginia has always stood for the freest principles of government and a strict interpretation of the Constitution, it has also stood equally unequivocally for extreme opposition to every form of sectarian interference in the administration of its affairs. This attitude too was derived from Jefferson's impress in the beginning. Again we must go back,—this time to a study of the opinions which he held and uttered on the subject of religion; for with such a study omitted, it

would be impossible to comprehend why it was that, in an age when all the existing colleges offered a long course in theology, the University of Virginia was founded without the smallest consideration for any religious dogma or denomination. With one breath, Jefferson could exclaim, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the minds of men," and with the next, he could truthfully say, "I have never attempted to make a convert or wished to change another's creed. I inquire after no man's religion, and I trouble none with mine." "I am for encouraging the progress of science in all its branches," he wrote to Elbridge Gerry, in 1799, "and not for awing the human mind by stories of rawheads and bloody bones to a distrust of its own vision."

And yet the relations between man and his Creator, and the responsibilities which resulted therefrom, were pronounced by him to be the most important of all to every human being, and, therefore, the most obligatory on each person to inquire into. Of the different systems of morality which he had investigated,—and he had been a close student of religious history,—that of Christ always rose before his mind's eye as the purest, the most benevolent, and the most sublime. Epictetus and Epicurus, he said, formulated a code of ethical laws by which the individual should govern himself; Christ went a great distance further by enforcing upon men the charities and the duties which they owed to their fellowman. He had inculcated a universal philanthropy far above the loftiest imagination of the ancient philosophers or of the Jews themselves. "Had his doctrines," Jefferson added, "been preached always as pure as they came from his lips, the whole world would have been converted to Christianity." Who had perverted the original com-

plexion, the primitive spirit, of those doctrines? The priest, was his reply. In every country and in every age, he said, the priest had been the foe of liberty. He was always an ally of despots, and ready to connive at their abuses in return for protection for his own. The most culpable members of the living priesthood, he asserted, were the Presbyterian ministers; they are, he wrote William Short "the most intolerant of all sects, the most tyrannical and ambitious, ready at the word of the law-giver, if such a word could now be obtained, to put the torch to the pile. They pant to re-establish by law the Holy Inquisition."

The acridness with which he assailed the whole clerical profession had its origin, not so much in any real knowledge of its history, as in resentment at the attacks which many of that profession had made on him in retaliation for his political and legislative changes. His successful effort to separate the Church from the State in Virginia had naturally enough aroused the vehement hostility of the clergymen of the former Episcopal Establishment, while his Republican principles had been sourly obnoxious to the Federalist Congregational ministers of New England, who never ceased to denounce him from their pulpits as that crowning abomination, a French infidel; and this charge was echoed elsewhere also. "It is so impossible to contradict all these lies," he wrote Monroe, in 1800, "that I am determined to contradict none, for while I should be engaged with one, they would publish twenty new ones." As a matter of fact, Jefferson was, in none of his religious opinions, deserving of the anathema of atheism. In his youth, he said, he had been "fond of speculations which seemed to promise insight into that hidden country, the land of spirits"; but observing at length that he was tangled up in as great a coil of doubt

as at first, he, for many years, ceased to meditate seriously, or at all, on the subject of religion. "I reposed my head," he consoled himself with placid philosophy, "on that pillow of ignorance which a benevolent Creator has made so soft for us, knowing how much we should be forced to use it." In a later phase of mind, he relied exclusively on the practice of virtue as the corner-stone of the only true religion. "I have thought it better," he said, "to nourish the good passions, and control the bad, in order to merit an inheritance in a state of being of which I can know so little, and to trust for the future to Him who has been so good for the past." "It is in our acts and not in our words that our religion must be read." "Men should show no uneasiness about the different roads they may pursue, as believing them to be the shortest to their last abode, but following the guidance of a good conscience, they should be happy in the hope that, by those different paths, they shall meet together at the end of the journey."

"Reason is the only oracle given men by Heaven," he said on another occasion, "and they are answerable, not for the rightness, but for the uprightness of the decision." "I am," he added, "a Christian in the only sense Christ wished any one to be: sincerely attached to his doctrines in preference to all others." Under the influence of his reverence for those doctrines, he made up, from the pages of the Bible, with the use of a pair of scissors, a volume which he entitled the *Philosophy of Jesus*, and which he panegyricized as the most beautiful and precious morsel of ethics that existed. It comprised numerous verses picked out here and there from the texts of the Gospels, and arranged in strict conformity to time and subject. That these texts encouraged him to believe that the soul would not perish with the body is proven by many of his utter-

ances during his last years. "The time is not far distant," he said in a letter to John Adams, "at which we are to repose in the same cerement our sorrows and suffering bodies, and to ascend in essence to an ecstatic meeting with the friends we have loved and lost, and whom we shall love and never lose again." And when his daughter Maria died, he declared, in reply to words of sympathy from John Page, that "every step shortens the distance we have to go. The end of the journey is in sight. We sorrow not then as others who have no hope, but look forward to the day which joins us to the great majority." "Your age of eighty-four and mine of eighty-one," he wrote to John Cartwright in England, "ensures us a speedy meeting. We will then commune at leisure and more fully, on the good and evil, which, in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed." And at the close of his last interview with the members of his weeping family, he was heard to murmur, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

Whatever may have been the religious tenets of Jefferson at bottom, he was of the clear conviction that civil government could not legitimately take even the smallest notice of men's religious opinions, unless those opinions were used as an engine for the destruction of peace and order. Then and only then could the civil officers intervene. "What has been the effect of religious coercion?" he asks in the *Notes on Virginia*. "To make one half of the world fools, and the other half hypocrites." He urged that differences of view were advantageous to religion; that the several sects performed the office of *censor morum* over each other; and that to make one sect the Church of the State, and then to compel the other sects to support it as offering the only correct religious creed, was usurping the right of private judgment, and

imposing an unjustifiable and intolerable yoke upon those who rejected that creed and all its ordinances. "I cannot give up my guidance to the magistrate," he declared, "because he knows no more of the way to Heaven than I do, and is less concerned to direct me right than I am to go right. The magistrate has no power but what the people gave. The people have not given him the care of souls because they could not. They could not because no man has the right to abandon the care of his salvation to another." Holding as he did these opinions, which appear to be self-evident enough in our more liberal age, and which, doubtless, were widely entertained even at that period, Jefferson was fully resolved to tear up the Episcopal Establishment of Virginia root and branch, whenever the hour seemed opportune to do so. He was eager, as we have seen, to raze the whole system of monopoly, which, in 1776, he found in existence in the new Commonwealth; but he was particularly impatient to demolish that branch of it which was represented in the union of the Church with the State. How revolutionary at that time, and in that community, were the sentiments which were hurrying him on, a few facts bearing on the condition of the Dissenters then will clearly show.

The Hanover Presbytery complained as late as 1774 that their ministrations were by law confined to a small number of places, in spite of the sparse population; that they were not permitted to assemble at night; that they were compelled to keep open the doors of their meeting-houses in the day while the services were in progress; and, finally, that they were deprived of the right as a corporation to hold estates and receive gifts and legacies in support of their schools and churches. They prayed that the misdemeanors of Dissenters should be punished by ordinances equally binding on all citizens regardless of

their religious creeds. "We ask for nothing," they declared, "but what justice says ought to be ours; for as ample privileges as any of our fellow-subjects enjoy." And they concluded with the proud reminder that the petition was not that of a sect sunk in obscurity, but of one that belonged to the national church of Scotland, Holland, Switzerland and Northern Europe.

The persecutions of the Baptists alone were a sharp enough spur to quicken Jefferson's fierce drive for reform. In the same year, Madison wrote from Montpelier to a friend, "There are at this time in the adjoining county not less than five or six well-meaning men in close jail for publishing their religious sentiments, which, in the main, are very orthodox." These prisoners were Baptists. About one year after the date of this letter, and less than one year before the Declaration of Independence, an anonymous signer urged every member of the Church of England who had subscribed for the endowment of Hampden-Sidney College, a Presbyterian institution, to withdraw his contribution until that institution had been put under masters who belonged to the Established Church. "If this school is thus encouraged," so the writer warned, "we may reasonably expect, in a few years, to see our Senate House as well as our pulpits filled with Dissenters, and thus they may, by an easy transition, secure the Establishment in their favor."

In his legislative innovations, Jefferson merely rose to the cry of these Dissenters, who naturally and rightly demanded the alteration of the laws relating to religious worship. An open and liberal mind like his could not fail to respond to the just appeal which the Presbyterians and Baptists were so persistently making for religious freedom and civic equality; nor did he halt in his effort to force so desirable a change, because, in winning the good

will of the outlawed denominations in general, he knew that he was inviting the hatred of the one which had enjoyed the exclusive privileges that he was seeking to demolish. He allowed no inherited church affiliations of his own to stay his hand in striking the blow of separation. He was brought up in the Anglican creed and ceremonial; he still preferred the Anglican form at least to all others in spite of his unorthodox opinions; and he had no wish to place his native sect on a lower footing than that of the rest. It was absolute equality before the law alone which he aimed at. He had observed that Pennsylvania and New York had flourished without any establishment at all; and that every denomination in those communities was prosperous and in harmonious relations with each other. What was the explanation? It was the tolerance with which all were treated, he replied, and the entire absence of special privilege; there was no jealousy, no envy, no jostling, no bickering; each stood upon its own platform, and made no claim not founded upon its intrinsic merit.

In 1776, the Virginia Convention declared that freedom of religious worship was a natural right; but this action was not satisfactory to Jefferson because that body adopted no measure which would safeguard this right. In October of the same year, the Convention, reassembling as Senate and House of Delegates, repealed all the statutes which branded the religious opinions of Dissenters as criminal; and it also suspended the existing provisions for the payment of salaries to the Episcopal clergymen. The question of what constituted heresy, however, was reserved for the interpretation of the common law. In 1777, the General Court was impowered to pass upon every case of the kind which should arise within the jurisdiction of that branch of jurisprudence. At this time, the

Act of 1705 was still in force; whoever denied the existence of the Deity, or expressed disbelief in the Trinity, or the Christian tenets as a whole, or asserted that there were more gods than one, or that the Scriptures were of human origin, was liable to conviction for felony. Such, exclaimed Jefferson, with undisguised bitterness, was the religious slavery in which still remained a people who, by every form of sacrifice, involving life and fortune alike, had won their political and social freedom!

The great Act drafted by him to create a religious equilibrium that would be comparable to the political one already secured, was prepared as early as 1777, but was not reported to the General Assembly until 1779; and not until nine years had gone by, did it become a part of the organic law of the State. The drastic alteration which he submitted was summed up by him in a few words: "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, ministry, or place whatsoever; nor shall he be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or his goods, nor shall he otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief; but all men shall be free to profess, and by argument, to maintain their opinions in matters of religion; and the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities." This proposition, radical as it was at that time, but which seems to us now to be so axiomatic in its meaning, could only be put in practice piece by piece and step by step, as it were, although it had the sustaining and driving power behind it of the ablest debaters in the General Assembly. The first step was to enact that, thereafter, no fine should be laid on any one because he neglected to be present at public worship; but it was not until 1779 that the clergy were divested of the right to compel the payment of their salaries through the public treasury;

and not until 1786 that the power of the Civil Government to regulate religious observances, and to punish the holder of heretical or atheistic opinions, was permanently abandoned. For the first time in Virginia a father who refused to subscribe to all the confessions of the Episcopal creed could claim the prerogative of guardianship over his own children; and for the first time too a Roman Catholic could testify in court.

Correct in principle and in action as Jefferson was in this great controversy, he frequently, in the course of it, expressed himself intemperately. He went so far, for instance, as to say that the despondent view taken by so many persons of the ability to ameliorate the condition of mankind was due to the "depressing influence" of the alliance between Church and State. The men who fattened on the fruits of that alliance, he declared, would bitterly oppose every advance of society, because they would expect it "to unmask their usurpation and monopoly of honors, wealth, and power, and endanger all the comforts they now enjoyed." And to such a height did he carry this spirit of fanatical antagonism that he refused, while President of the United States, to proclaim a national Day of Thanksgiving, an annual regulation as appropriate and as desirable in his time, as it is in our own. "I don't believe," he wrote on this occasion, "that it is for the interest of religion for the civil magistrate to direct its exercises, its discipline, and its doctrine. Fasting and prayers are religious exercises; the enjoining them an act of discipline. Every religious society has a right to determine for itself the times for these exercises; and the right can never be safer than in their own hands, where the Constitution has placed it."

Jefferson was not more earnest in advocating the divorce of Church and State than he was the separation

of the Church from the organization and administration of every seat of learning. He had perceived the hampering effect of that alliance on the fortunes of the College of William and Mary at the time when he was endeavoring to convert it into an institution of the first order for higher education. Who were the persons that disapproved so strongly of this change that they joined in their efforts to prevent it? The leading Presbyterians and Baptists, who feared the spread of the sectarian influence which the College had always nourished. In founding the new university, therefore, he had a double motive in making it thoroughly undenominational: all theological leaning in a public institution was, in his judgment, not only grossly wrong in principle, but also invited a hostility that would seriously diminish its popularity and cloud its prestige.

IV. *Love of Science*

We have now come to a third characteristic of Jefferson, which we will find infused into the entire round of instruction of the infant university,—this was the breadth, versatility, and what may be called, the modernity of his scientific outlook. If it is imperative to dwell upon his political and religious opinions in order to obtain a just conception of the institution at the start, it is equally necessary to dwell, in a preliminary way, on his extraordinary esteem for knowledge, and his unfailing interest in all its departments. He had none of the spirit of the specialist, which would have given a preponderance to some one province in which he happened to be learned. If he exhibited any preference at all, it was for architecture, and even in this, he was, perhaps, chiefly influenced by his anxiety to create a proper setting for his projected

university. All the different chairs which he established enjoyed an equal dignity in his mind. Roundness and completeness in each school was all that he aimed at. This was as true of law as it was of the languages and the sciences, although, as we have seen, he required that only certain political doctrines and principles should be taught in it; but his political creed he considered to be as much the truth in an advanced form as the latest discoveries brought to the attention of the students in the School of Medicine or of Natural History.

Jefferson thought his early lessons to be so valuable that he would often say that, if he were asked to choose between the large estate devised to him by his father, and the education bestowed upon him by the same bounteous hand, he would select the last as that one of the two benefits which he considered to be the most indispensable. His tuition up to his fourteenth year was received from a learned Scotchman; the next two years were passed at the Maury School, famous in its day for its classical thoroughness; and in his seventeenth year, he entered the College of William and Mary. This was in 1760, when he is said to have been very shy and awkward in manner, rawboned in frame, with sandy hair and a freckled face. The most fruitful side of his life in Williamsburg was his intimate association with William Small, professor of mathematics, and for a time also of ethics, rhetoric, and belles-lettres, who had brought over from his native Scotland an uncommon share of the learning which had conferred such celebrity on its universities. He was remarkable not only for his knowledge of the sciences, rare in Virginia at that time, but also for his ability to impart it; and he was still more remarkable for the liberality of his opinions.

It was probably through the friendship of Small that

Jefferson first came to enjoy the companionship of Wythe and Fauquier, the two most accomplished men of that day in the Colony. At the table of Fauquier, he often formed the fourth in what he dubbed the *partie quarrée*, to which he owed the most instructive hours of this period of his life. There, from Small he learned of that vast field of natural science, in which he was to continue to feel so keen an interest until the end; from Wythe, of those great principles of jurisprudence which were to enable him to become one of the foremost of American social and political reformers; and from Fauquier, of the arts of government as well as of the graces of courtly bearing and the charms of urbane conversation. Such familiar and constant intercourse must have deeply confirmed those aptitudes which he, as a college youth, had brought down to Williamsburg from his mountain home: love of science, appreciation of literature and law, and a relish for intellectual companionship.

He was as diligent a student throughout his college course as he had been while still a pupil in the lower schools. Indeed, he never sat down in idleness. "Even in my boyhood," he once said to a grandson, "when wearied of play, I always turned to books." It was to the literature of Greece and Rome that he reverted with the liveliest and most unfailing sense of enjoyment. It was "a sublime luxury," he declared, to read the works of the great classical authors,—that "rich source of delight," as he also described them in a letter to Dr. Priestley. "I would not exchange them for anything which I could have acquired, and have not since acquired." He often asserted that "these models of pure taste" had saved English literature "from the inflated style of our Teutonic ancestors, or from the hyperbolical and vague style of the Oriental nations." "I have given up

newspapers in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides," he wrote John Adams, in 1812, "and I find myself much the happier." And in his old age, when the energies of his mind, as he said, had sunk in decay, he would turn "to the classical pages to fill up the vacuum of ennui."

It is remarkable how slightly he depended for recreation on the variety and beauty of the literature of his own language. He seems to have been indebted to it only for the clarity and precision of his flexible style. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he had no familiar knowledge of Shakespeare, and his letters are never garnished by a quotation from that author, or indeed from any English author of celebrity, with the possible exception of Pope. His taste in English literature seems to have been meretricious. "I think this rude bard of the North (Ossian)," he wrote, "the greatest poet who has ever existed." He preferred Homer to Milton and Polybius to Gibbon. The profound impression which he made on the character of the University of Virginia is revealed in no particular more plainly than in the history of its school of languages. His interest in the ancient tongues caused him to employ the ablest scholars for those professorships who could be procured from Europe; but the nearest approach to an English chair was a barren school of Anglo-Saxon. Is it the shadow of his comparative indifference to English literature, projected through the century which has followed, that explains the failure of the University of Virginia to produce successful authors in the normal proportion to successful lawyers, physicians, clergymen, engineers, and men of business? As a fructifying force in the field of even Southern literature, the institution has not gained the reputation which it has won in all the other departments of mental culture and practical efficiency.

Although a classical scholar of merit, and a student of several modern languages, it was toward natural science that the intellectual curiosity of Jefferson was chiefly directed. Nature, he wrote to Du Pont, in 1809, had designed him for the tranquil pursuits of science by rendering them his supreme delight. Small, he declared, had fixed the destinies of his life. "From my conversations with him, I got my first view . . . of the system of things in which we are placed." He was equally impatient with the ignorant adult who raised a hue and cry against science, and with the supercilious youth who looked upon its acquisition as a waste of time. He had a keen taste for mathematics, and in 1811, when he undertook to instruct his grandson therein, he spoke of himself as resuming its study with avidity; but, in reality, he had far more relish for the investigation of Nature, especially in the departments which would increase the ease and wholesomeness of life. When he arranged for a botanical garden at the University of Virginia, he gave direction that only those plants should be cultivated which were certain to be of practical use to his countrymen. "The main object of all science," he said, "was the freedom and happiness of man"; and no detail of it was too small or too insignificant apparently to enlist his attention if it should tend to secure these benefits.

This was signally true of agriculture, a pursuit which always deeply interested him. His knowledge of it, in every feature, was unfailingly at the service of his friends, who were constantly seeking his advice. We find him offering suggestions to both Cabell and Cocke as to the hedges which they should plant for fences on their farms to shut out the vagrant hogs and cattle. Would barriers of holly, haw, cedar, locust or thorn be the best for the purpose? He decided in favor of the thorn

for reasons based on his personal experiments. During many years, he kept a meteorological record that was so minute in its details as to excite the wonder of all who read it. "It is astonishing," writes Cabell, "how you could find time, in the midst of your other engagements, to make such a prodigious number of observations." A subject of long rumination with him was as to how to contrive the mould-board of a plough that would offer the least resistance in breaking up the ground. Concentrating whatever inventive talent he possessed on this problem, he sought its solution with the patient diligence of a trained mathematician; and the upshot was the production of a model so excellent that it won the formal approval of the English Board of Agriculture, and the gold prize from the Society of Paris. He imported from Scotland a reaping machine that was expected to hasten and cheapen the harvest; and he brought into Albemarle county strains of foreign stock,—sheep, hogs, and cattle, both male and female,—which would improve the native breeds. He put himself to extraordinary inconvenience while abroad to procure rice and olives for testing in the soil of South Carolina, while his garden-book brings to light his long course of experiments with vegetables and fruits. He frequently distributed seeds, roots, and plants among his correspondents, or sent them to agricultural societies; and on one occasion at least, he received from a friend in London in return, specimens of every kind of pea and vetch that was grown in English ground.

No prevailing heat of partisan controversy was allowed to divert his thoughts from the branches of natural history that interested him most. In 1798, when the uproar of the threatened war with France was at its height, he was writing to Mr. Nolan for information

about the herds of wild horses which were reported as roaming over the western prairies; and during the following year, when Federalists and Republicans were fighting each other with tooth and claw, he exhibited the keenest curiosity about the possibilities of Watt's new application of the power of steam. Even when his chances of election to the Presidency in 1801 were wavering to and fro, he is found composing letters of eager speculation over the origin of the mammoth bones then recently exhumed in Ulster county, New York; the nativity of the wild turkey; and the influence of the moon on the turn of weather. In 1808, when a war-cloud was looming between the United States and Great Britain, three hundred bones from the prehistoric beds of Big Lick were heaped up in a room of the White House awaiting scientific classification,—a fact strongly reminiscent of the wagon-load that had followed him to Philadelphia for Dr. Wistar's inspection, when he went thither to take the post of Vice-President.

It was Jefferson who dispatched Lewis and Clark on their romantic expedition to the Columbia; and no one gave Pike warmer and more intelligent encouragement in his western explorations than he. It is precisely correct to say of him that the enlightened policy which the National Government has always pursued towards scientific objects had its earliest impulse in his own liberal attitude as Chief Magistrate. While American Minister to the Court of Versailles, he never failed to inform the Faculties of Harvard, William and Mary, Yale and Pennsylvania, of all the recent acquisitions to science, such as new data relating to astronomy, improvements in agricultural and mechanical methods, and further discoveries in the wide province of natural history. "He was always on the lookout," says an English friend, who

was habitually in his company at this time, "to find new ideas to send home." In the course of his residence in Paris, he took a conspicuous part in a controversy over the true reason for the presence of marine shells on mountain-tops; and he successfully disputed the assertion that the animal frame dwindled after several generations passed in the climate of America. Buffon maintained that the chemical laboratory was not superior in dignity or value to the ordinary kitchen. "I think it amongst the most useful of sciences," retorted the far-sighted Jefferson, "and big with future discoveries for the utility and safety of the human race. It is yet indeed a mere embryo." But he did not show the same prescience about geology; he obtusely enough took little interest in that science because he was not able to foresee its practical helpfulness to men. "What difference does it make," he asked, "whether the earth is six hundred or six thousand years old? And is it of any real importance to know what is the composition of the various strata, if they contain no coal or iron or other useful metals?"

Jefferson evinced only a respectable ingenuity in invention. He was often spoken of as the "Father of the Pension Office," which was established by authority of Congress during the time he occupied the post of Secretary of State, but his talents for mechanical contrivance do not seem to have risen any higher than a mould-board, a walking-stick that could be spread out to form a seat, or a chair that revolved on a screw. Was a tribute to his convivialty or to his genius in small though useful inventions, intended by William Tatham in submitting to him a device by which full decanters could be passed more rapidly around the table? He showed a prophetic interest in the plans to build torpedoes and sub-marines; and writing to Robert Fulton, recommended that a corps

of young men should be educated exclusively for their service. Although much disposed to have a jocular fling at physicians, he was, nevertheless, an ardent student of the subjects which engage their attention. Dr. Dunglison, a member of the original Faculty of the University, frequently remarked that Jefferson could have made himself a master of the art of surgery,—so great was the amateur skill which he exhibited in sewing up a wound, or in setting a broken leg. It was characteristic of him that he was one of the first Americans to submit to vaccination as a preventive of smallpox.

v. Taste for Architecture

Jefferson was always interested in every department of the Fine Arts. While serving as Visitor of the College of William and Mary during his Governorship, he had been instrumental in adding a course of that character to the professorship of ethics; and in his scheme of education addressed to Peter Carr, in 1814, instruction was to be given in civil architecture, painting, sculpture, and the theory of music. He played on the violin with skill; had been a patron of Caracchi; and it was at his instance that Houdon was employed to model the full length statue of Washington and the bust of Lafayette. He was a sympathetic correspondent of Peale and Trumbull, and an active member of the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

But it was in architecture that he felt the most penetrating interest, and it was also in this art that he displayed an original talent almost comparable to the genius which he evinced in political science; indeed, it has been said of him by several critics of distinction that his influence in this more or less private province has been just

as notable as in the public province of either statesmanship or education. There was perhaps not an architect in the colonies when Monticello was planned, who possessed either his ability or his technical knowledge as a draftsman. His drawings, which began about 1769, have been pronounced to be unexampled in American history down to a much later period; and form, with those of the White House and the Capitol, the principal source of our knowledge of colonial architecture. In his autobiography, he makes an interesting reference to his "passion for architecture," a term exactly pertinent to his feeling for the art. Nowhere is this passion so gracefully yet so fervently expressed as in the playful letter to Comtesse de Tesse written from Nîmes in 1787. "Here I am, Madam, gazing whole hours at the *Maison Carrée* like a lover at his mistress. . . . This is the second time I have been in love since I left Paris. The first was with a Diana at the Chateau de Sage Espanage in Beaujolais. This you will say was in rule to fall in love with a female beauty. But with a house! It is out of all precedent! No, Madam, it is not without a precedent in my own history. Whilst in Paris, I was violently smitten with the Hotel de Salm."

But it has been correctly said of Jefferson that he used his talent for architecture for other purposes besides the mere gratification of his sense of beauty. A sense of practical fitness too was reflected in all his designs, which ranged from the Capitol at Richmond and the temples and cloisters at the University of Virginia, to the jails of Cumberland and Nelson counties; and from the mansions of his friends at Bremond and Farmington to a chicken coop at Pantops, his outlying farm. What had nourished this taste in the beginning? He had visited Annapolis, Philadelphia and New York, in 1766, before the

cornerstone of Monticello had been laid, but there is no evidence that his observations, during his sojourn in those cities, directly shaped his original aptitude as designer, draftsman, and builder. Certainly there was little in the houses of his native colony that appealed to that spirit of innovation, as well in architecture as in politics and education, which animated him even in his youth. Westover, Gunston Hall, Carter's Creek, Brandon, Sabin Hall, Shirley, and the old Virginian manor-house of Stratford, the residence at Mt. Airy,—though some were inspired by classic models,—were not looked upon by him as worthy of praise, or even of incidental mention. In the *Notes*, he remarks on the homely construction of the dwelling houses in his native State. Few were built of brick; still fewer of stone; they were merely wooden cottages made of scantling and boards, with walls plastered with coarse lime. There were, in his opinion, but four structures deserving of notice,—the Palace, the College, the Capitol, and the Hospital at Williamsburg. Of these the College and the Hospital were held up as rude misshapen piles, "which might easily be mistaken for huge brick-kilns, were they not covered with roofs." The churches and courthouses had been designed with a blind eye to elegance; but this general want of architectural beauty was not surprising, he said, when it was recalled that there were no workmen in Virginia who possessed even a moderate degree of artistic judgment and mechanical skill. The existing styles of architecture were, in his judgment, "a malediction, not a blessing to the land," although it cost no more to build a beautiful structure than to build an ugly one of the same size.

Jefferson was the son of a planter, and had come into the world in a plain house, in a sparsely inhabited neighborhood, removed only by a few years from the secluded

days of the pioneer. There was nothing in that early environment to cultivate a taste for architecture. All his friends of his own age and social standing had been carefully drilled, like himself, in the ancient classics, but they, no more than himself, perhaps, had been led by that fact to acquire an insight into the art. There was no chair of fine arts at the College of William and Mary to increase any natural leaning which he may have had towards it; nor is there any proof that either Small, or Wythe, or Fauquier, who so deeply colored his character while a student there, encouraged him to pursue its study. Both in Williamsburg, and in the homes of such men as William Byrd of Westover, he found illustrated books relating to architecture, and it is possible that access to them for casual reading ripened what was at first merely an idle liking for the art. But the bare taste itself very probably sprang, not from any extrinsic influence, but from his own versatile, inquisitive, and cultured personality, which happened to find, in that particular, a congenial reflection in the plates of Palladio, a copy of which he looked upon even at the age of twenty-seven as the principal treasure of his library.

The first monument of his genius was the most beautiful; the house at Monticello was pronounced by a cultivated and travelled French nobleman to be the handsomest private residence in America. The environment at the time of its foundation offered such extraordinary obstacles to a builder that they would have discouraged any one who lacked the sanguine and resourceful temper of Jefferson. The nearest point from which he could obtain supplies of any sort was a small village; and even this afforded but a paucity of the rarer materials for construction; and no skilled mechanics at all. He created substitutes for the latter by training intelligent

negroes of his own to be cabinet-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and bricklayers. Nails were manufactured in his own smithy by his youthful slaves; and his bricks were made of clay dug up out of beds on his own land. He applied his own tests to different woods to detect their relative fitness, strength, and durability, and chose only those varieties that stood these tests most successfully. The mortar used by him was obtained only after long and laborious experiments.

In those times, there were no professional architects at work in America. All building, even along the most ambitious lines, was in the hands of handicraftsmen who were guided by principles that had been brought in with the early emigration,—to be later on, perhaps, modified by novelties which had been introduced by the most recent comers. Not elegance, but utilitarian and economic purposes were alone kept in view. Jefferson, however, had beauty, utility, and economy all in his vision; and he was fully competent to serve as his own architect, whether design or practical specifications were demanded.

Monticello is the most remarkable of all his structures because it was the fruit of his taste and discernment before either had been broadened and chastened by a study, on the ground, of the splendid architectural monuments of Europe. It is true that the mansion was not finished until after his return from his foreign mission, but already in 1782, the Marquis de Chastellux, a visitor, was so impressed with its charm that he thought it deserving of a minute description in the general record of his travels. Mr. Jefferson, he said, was the first American who had consulted the fine arts to find out how to shelter himself best from the weather. The house was begun in 1769, and completed in 1801, and during that long interval, the original design was modified in one im-

portant particular only; which, however, cannot be hunted down to any suggestion which came to him abroad. It was to Greek and Roman concepts that he turned when he first framed that design; and to those concepts he continued loyal to the end. He passed by the models then standing in Virginia and in New England, which he might have used, and took his cue from Palladio, who had drafted the best existing representations of the surviving monuments of ancient times. But in his drawings of private houses, that architect had been forced to rely on the descriptions of certain Roman predecessors. It is an interesting fact that the country homes of the Venetian merchants, his principal patrons, called for at least one detail which was common to the country homes of the Virginian planters: both sets of estates, being productive, required a grouping of service quarters alongside the owners' mansions. It was Palladio who solved this problem by clothing the utilitarian outbuildings with a decorative garb of columns at the very time that he subordinated them to the main building.

This great master had influenced the grouping of many planters' residences in Virginia, previous to Monticello, through the style of architecture known by his name, which had been transmitted from England to colonial builders; but there was no such example of his work there, even in an extremely modified form, as was presented later in the design and structure of Jefferson's mansion. As a matter of fact, there was no exact representation of that mansion to be found in the plates of either Palladio, or his English disciple, Gibbs; it was, in reality, a reversion to the owner's early studies because it fulfilled the purpose he had in view better than any specific plan already in shape for immediate use in the drawings of his favorite architect, for whom he was

afterwards to show his preference in the buildings of the University of Virginia¹ During his sojourn at home, after his temporary retirement in 1793, he derived a very kindly satisfaction from drafting plans for new residences for his wealthy friends in Virginia, or in suggesting alterations for the improvement of those already standing. His advice and services were eagerly and gratefully received, and in such houses as Bremo and Farmington, already referred to, the impression of his taste and skill remains to this day to delight the visitor. He was consulted by Benjamin Harrison, of Brandon, and by James Madison, of Montpelier, and on application, supplied designs for the projected courthouses for Buckingham and Botetourt counties, and for additions to the Episcopal church in Charlottesville.

It was always the public building that aroused the most enthusiasm in him as an architect. As early as 1776, he brought in a bill in the General Assembly which provided that, when the State Government should be removed to Richmond, six entire squares of ground should be reserved there as sites for the Capitol, a great Hall of Justice, the offices of the Executive Board, and the additional structures intended for other public purposes. This combination of squares, broad streets, and noble buildings was expected by him to serve as an imposing monument that would always hold up before the eyes of the Virginian people the most splendid examples of the architectural art. Such a scheme was altogether unexampled in American history up to that date; and not until recent years has it been carried out by any foreign or domestic community to the degree projected in the mind of Jefferson.

¹ Monticello was Palladian in some of its elements, and after the manner of Gibbs in others.

He was very solicitous, while in France, to give all the assistance then in his power to improve the taste of his countrymen as reflected in their public buildings; his plan for doing this was to send over the drawing of some noble model whenever such an edifice was to be erected; and in order to inform himself of the wide range of models of that kind in European countries, he was not content to study those in Paris alone, but travelled through England, Holland, Italy, and Southern France on a tour of inspection. In the course of these journeys, he gathered up a large collection of books on architecture, which further increased the weight of his advice. Among the notable structures that are to be credited to him is the Capitol at Richmond, which, at his suggestion, was built along the lines of the *Maison Carrée* at Nimes, one of the most "beautiful morsels" of architecture, in his opinion, if not the "most precious," surviving from a remote antiquity. The Capitol is said to be the first direct imitation of a classical edifice to be found in the United States; and while it did not conform exactly to the model sent over by him, it has, nevertheless, always remained a permanent memorial to the purity of his taste.

There was now perceptible, in different parts of the young Republic, a tendency to erect public buildings of large dimensions. Naturally, this was most obvious in the plans for the national capitol at Washington. Jefferson was, at this time, Secretary of State, and the location of the new District of Columbia fell within the jurisdiction of that department. A trace of his early scheme for the squares and public buildings in Richmond is to be detected in his suggestion as to the use to be made of the area of land set apart for the Capitol, the President's House, and the Town Hall. The plan

chosen by L'Enfant, to whom Washington submitted Jefferson's plan, was the Jefferson plan modified; and it was further altered by Washington also. Jefferson's advice was afterwards sought by the same great official as to the style of architecture to be adopted for the projected city, and his reply had an important influence on its character as finally determined upon. He thought of sending on a design which he had drawn for the President's House; but he must have decided it to be impracticable, either because it was too expensive, or pitched on too large a scale. The model which he had proposed for the Governor's House at Richmond failed of success in the competition. His indirect recommendation of the temple form for the Capitol at Washington was not received with favor, for this style also was decided to be too costly and too incommodious.

He was able to make his predilections more distinctly felt after he assumed the Presidency, since the Capitol, the White House, and the Department buildings were still unfinished. He chose as architect a man who was even more of an admirer of classic models than himself, for Mr. Latrobe favored a return, not simply to classicism in general, but to the original Greek form of it. Jefferson, through this appointment, not only stamped his own taste on the Capitol and the White House as far as possible in their incomplete state, but in the public edifices afterwards built in the other cities of the Union, he was able to carry out his architectural preference without obstruction or interference. His aim now, as formerly, was to make the architecture of the classic era the characteristic architecture of America; and in this ambition, which he pursued consistently, he, fortunately for his own success, had the support of a public opinion which he himself had done so much to confirm and ex-

pand. This, the distinctive bent of his genius as designer and builder, found perhaps its most complete expression in the edifices of the University of Virginia; and their origin cannot be understood without a full knowledge of their author's previous achievements as an architect.

FIRST PERIOD

STRUGGLE FOR A UNIVERSITY

1. *Jefferson's Faith in Education*

We have now described those fundamental tastes and convictions of Jefferson which have left a permanent impression on the University of Virginia: his almost fanatical devotion to political freedom; his hatred of all forms of sectarian obtrusiveness; and his enthusiasm for every branch of science which he believed would liberalize and fructify the human mind. How were these great objects, upon which, in his judgment, the liberty, felicity, and comfort of mankind depended, to be solidly and lastingly preserved? By education, was his emphatic reply. "Knowledge is power," he wrote George Tickner in 1817, "knowledge is safety, knowledge is happiness." Education to him meant the diffusion of light through all the ranks of society, from the highest to the lowest; indeed, it was the chief, if not the only, means by which the goodness of the individual could be nourished, and his happiness secured. It was not simply education, but "well directed education" that was to improve his morals, enlarge his mind, clarify his decisions, instruct his industry, and augment his material prosperity. "Education," Jefferson remarks in the Rockfish Gap Report, "engrafts a new man on the native stock, and turns what in his nature was vicious and perverse into qualities of virtue and social worth." "And it cannot but be," he continued, "that each generation,

succeeding to the knowledge acquired by all those that preceded it, adding to it their own acquisitions and discoveries, and handing the mass down for successive and constant accumulation, must advance the knowledge and well-being of mankind, not infinitely, but indefinitely."

It was one of the most seductive of all Rousseau's theories that the right to a pleasant place in the sun was the natural right of every man; and that the only reason for the existence of social organization, and the only object of education, was to assure that right to every person beyond the possibility of alienation or deprivation. Jefferson's own convictions were in general harmony with this view; but in one detail he went a long stride further than the great sentimentalist of Geneva; he thought that the aim of education should be, not simply to make a contented and prosperous citizen, but also a useful and unselfish one,—one who would perform all the public duties of citizenship with as much cheerfulness and alacrity as he would perform all the tender and benevolent offices of his own domestic hearth and social circle. It was the function of democracy to secure for all men precisely equal opportunities for advancement; no man was to be favored at the expense of any other man, while all the prizes for which men strove should be thrown open to free competition; but it was necessary that they should, in this ardent and unceasing contest, have the use of all their powers at the highest tension of their capacity. How was this to be brought about? Again, he replied, by education.

What were the benefits, which, in Jefferson's opinion, would be conferred by primary education? The acquisition of the knowledge that every citizen needs for the transaction of his private business, such as the skill to make his own calculations in figures, and to express and

preserve his ideas, his contracts, and his accounts in writing; the improvement, by reading, of his morals and faculties; the intelligent comprehension of what was due from him to his neighbors and country, and the capacity to discharge, with usefulness, all duties imposed on him by either; the full understanding of his rights, and the ability to exercise them in his own person with justice and discretion; the ability also to select wisely the fiduciaries to whom he might delegate some of those rights, and to follow up their conduct with diligence, candor, and sound judgment; and, finally, in a general way, the capacity to show staunchness and equanimity in all the social relations, however difficult the situation, and however searching the test.

The aims of the higher education rested upon a somewhat broader platform. What were they? To mould the characters of the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom the prosperity of the public and the happiness of the individual, in the future, were to depend so largely; to expound the proper spirit and framework of government, and to interpret the laws that regulate the intercourse of nations; to harmonize and nourish the growth of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; to develop the reasoning faculties of the young, to enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the principles of virtue and order; to instruct them in those mathematical and physical sciences which foster the arts and contribute to the health, support, and comfort of human life; and finally, to mould them to habits of reflection and honorable conduct, so as to raise them up to be exemplars of the highest virtue to their neighbors, and of the most rational happiness within themselves.

As Jefferson expected primary education to reach a far larger body of citizens than advanced education, his

scheme for universal instruction required that the superior attention should be paid to the primary as thereby the greater number could be trained in the duties which all owed to the commonwealth. For he never for a moment forgot the value of education in its relation to the State at large; he looked upon it, he said in 1819, "as the means of giving a wholesome direction to public opinion; it was the safest guide and guardian of public morals and public welfare; it was the arbitress in every age of happiness or wretchedness for a community."

"Is not education," he asked at another time, "the most effectual means to prevent tyranny by illuminating the minds of the people at large with knowledge, and especially knowledge of those facts which history presents? Thus possessed of the experience of other ages and other countries, they would be able to detect ambition under all its guises, and prompt to exert their national powers to defeat its purposes." "What does a tax for general education amount to?" he wrote to a friend three years after the close of the Revolution. "It is not a thousandth part of what will have to be paid to monarchs and their satellites, who will rise up amongst us if we leave the people in ignorance." "Educate the people, and never again will they submit to the prejudices and privileges that attend a government carried on by one great class greedily bent on their own advantage alone. Moreover, it would bring every section of the community in harmonious relations, which would be a lasting guarantee of its unity and vigor."

He was the first statesman of our country to foresee clearly the extraordinary improvement which education would produce in the purely material condition of the nation, the sea-like multitude, as distinguished from the condition of the simple individual. In drafting the re-

port of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, in 1821, he used the following pregnant and prophetic words: "We fondly hope that the instruction which may flow from this institution, kindly cherished, by advancing the minds of our youth with the growing science of the time, and elevating the views of our citizens generally to the practice of the social duties and the functions of self-government, may ensure to our country the reputation, the safety, the prosperity, and all the other blessings which experience proves to result from the cultivation and improvement of the general mind."

But Jefferson was not satisfied with simply dwelling on the benefits to spring from the adoption of his principles of popular education; on the contrary, from his entrance into public life, as a delegate to the General Assembly, he was incessantly busy with plans to put these principles into continuous operation. Before we describe his long struggle to create a public school system, capped by a university, some account should be given of his attempt to increase the usefulness of the one centre of higher culture in existence in Virginia at that time, and of his share in projecting another of foreign origin, which promised, during a short interval, to secure a stable foothold. A third, as we shall discover, failed to enlist his sympathy and support, because, from the start, he considered its plan to be impracticable. Naturally, as a youthful statesman but recently graduated from the College of William and Mary, already looked upon as a venerable seat of culture, his activities were first directed towards the improvement of its curriculum rather than towards the establishment of a new institution elsewhere.

The College,—which had been created by royal warrant in the seventeenth century,—had won a high reputation in colonial history by the broadness of its scholastic

platform for those times, and by the prominence of its alumni in all the avenues of colonial life. In 1779, when Jefferson undertook to enlarge its studies and to raise its standards, its departments were divided as follows: First, the Grammar School. The pupils in this school were known as scholars, and they entered it as early as their ninth year. The Latin and Greek languages made up an important part of their tuition. Second, the School of Philosophy. The pupils of this school were known as students, and they were required to wear the collegiate cap and gown. In one section of it, rhetoric, logic, and ethics were taught, and in the other, physics, metaphysics, and mathematics. The degrees awarded were those of bachelor of arts and master of arts; and two and four years respectively were the prescribed periods within which they were to be won. Third, the School of Divinity. In this school, in which lessons were given in the Hebrew language and in the history of dogma, the instruction was assigned to two professors; there were two professors also in the School of Philosophy; and one in the Grammar School. A weekly lecture was delivered by the President of the College. In addition to these three departments, there was, for the benefit of a fixed number of Indian boys, a course in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and also a supplementary course in the precepts of the catechism, and in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion.

At this College from the beginning, as at all the chief seats of learning in America during the same period, the first consideration was given to the subject of Divinity, but in a form that was exclusively Anglican. The teachers, as a rule, had been educated at Oxford, and through them, the traditional influences of that great university had made a deep impression on the character

of the institution. So far did the monastic conception triumph in its government, that the marriage of a professor aroused censure; and this was all the keener because the majority of the faculty were clergymen; in 1758, two of the members were removed for violating this tacit prescription of celibacy, although they protestingly pointed to the President of the corporation as the one who had first set so honorable and natural an example. It was jocularly said, at a subsequent date, that the College of William and Mary was, by an unwritten law, compelled to justify its existence by raising a furious controversy with a heretic at least once in the course of every three years.¹ It was under the direct control of the Episcopal Church, and furnished it regularly with its principal candidates for the ministry. Every one of the Visitors was expected to belong to this denomination; and every one of its professors, when appointed, had to walk up to the faculty table and sign the Thirty-nine Articles.

In 1779, as Governor of the State, Jefferson occupied a seat on the Board, and he took advantage of this fact to make definite changes in the curriculum, with the design of converting the institution into a true university. This was the first step towards establishing somewhere in America a centre of learning that was patterned on the standards of the great universities of Europe. The earliest measure called for was one that would remove all trace of theological flavour: the School of Divinity was cut out root and branch, and the ancient languages were dropped. These languages had been retained among the courses recommended by the revision of 1776, but, in 1779, it was found by Jefferson, now a Visitor, that the

¹ Minutes of Board of Hampden-Sidney College, April 25, 26, 1838. Note.

new schools could not be erected without swallowing up the income that had gone to the support of the professorship of Latin and Greek. The new scientific and political studies brought in were thought by him to be of more practical service than instruction in the ancient languages, which, after all, could, in his judgment, be safely left to the secondary schools already provided for in his all-comprehensive scheme of public education.

The courses of instruction which he proposed for the metamorphosed College of William and Mary were as follows: (1) law and politics; (2) anatomy and medicine; (3) physics and mathematics; (4) moral philosophy, law of nature and nations, and the history of fine arts; (5) modern languages; (6) the Indian School. He was sanguine that, with the flight of time, the endowment of the College would grow in volume as well as the income from the ever-increasing number of students in attendance,—a combination that would justify a great expansion in the work of the class-rooms. He was particularly solicitous that the literatures of the north of Europe should be taught under its roof, as they were, he said, so intimately connected with “our own language, laws, customs and history.” This was one of the reasons, though not the principal one, which afterwards led him to require the admission of Anglo-Saxon among the studies of the University of Virginia. He thought that the Indian School, as then conducted, was of small utility; and he suggested as a substitute that a missionary should be appointed, who should, in the wigwams of the West, investigate the aboriginal system of laws, religious traditions, and languages,—the record of all which should be retained as a permanent possession of the library at Williamsburg. The School of Law proposed by him, was the first collegiate school of the kind to be

set on foot in the United States; so was the School of History inaugurated there in 1803; and Charles Bellini was also the earliest professor of modern languages to become a member of the faculty of an incorporated seat of learning within the same area of the Continent.

At the time that Jefferson was meditating and planning for higher education at the College of William and Mary, he had no examples in his native State to guide him. Hampden-Sidney College was then hardly superior to a grammar school, and it was altogether under the control of a sect, which he, at least, thought to be more intolerant than the Episcopalians. Washington College, too, though of great respectability, could lay no claim to exalted scholarship at that early stage of its history; and it also was under the mastery of the same vigorous denomination. Unless he could raise and broaden the standards of the College of William and Mary, by transforming it into a genuine university, Virginia, he knew, must continue to see a large stream of her most promising young men flowing annually into the scholastic reservoirs of the North. He was not far enough away from his own graduation to have lost all affection for his alma mater; and he also perceived that it possessed two conspicuous advantages for its own advancement: (1) its comparatively ancient origin; and (2) its situation in the capital city. Both of these unrivaled circumstances, he thought, would have a very strong tendency to augment its prosperity when expanded into a university; but, unfortunately for the general success of his scheme, the Dissenters' prejudices had been further inflamed by the Revolution, and this relentless sentiment was not satisfied short of positively discouraging the extension of the College's patronage among the families of their own denominations. Without the friendly countenance of every

section of the community, it could not become the university he desired. Doubtless, too, the insalubrity of Williamsburg¹ had some influence in bringing about the failure of his first expectations; and this harmful influence was increased by the remoteness of the town from the centre of the State, for, in those times, the stage and carriage and the back of a horse were the only means of travelling to a distance. The removal of the Capital to Richmond at his own instance was the final blow.

But while Jefferson's hope for the establishment of a university was not realized in the reformed College of William and Mary, his effort in its behalf strongly tended to quicken his sense of the need of a higher seat of learning in Virginia, and, undoubtedly, enabled him to study with more discrimination every aspect of that subject when he came to visit and inspect the foremost scholastic institutions of Europe. That he retained a favorable opinion of the instruction in the College of William and Mary, as broadened and liberalized by himself, is clearly proven by the contents of his letter to Mr. Banister in 1785. What are the constituents of a useful American education? he asked. "Classical knowledge," he replied, "modern languages,—chiefly French, Spanish and Italian,—mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, ethics, and civil history. In natural philosophy, I mean to include chemistry and agriculture, and in natural history, to include botany as well as other branches of those departments. It is true that the habit of speaking the modern languages cannot be so well acquired in America. But every other article can be as well acquired at William and Mary College as at any

¹ The correspondence of Professor William B. Rogers at a later period, contains many references to the unhealthiness of Williamsburg.

place in Europe. When college education is done with, and a young man is to prepare himself for public life, he must cast his eye for America either in law or physics. In the former, where can he apply himself so advantageously as to Mr. Wythe? . . . The medical class is the only one which need come to Europe."

When it is recalled that Mr. Wythe was the preceptor in jurisprudence of both Jefferson and Marshall,—the first, among the greatest legislative reformers, the second, the greatest interpreter of the law, that have appeared in American history,—this expression of opinion seems to be devoid of the pardonable exaggeration of local partiality. The words too were penned when his ability to compare the relative merits of domestic and foreign colleges had been rendered more penetrating by careful observation of all that was to be studied in European countries. This preference, however, did not survive his return to America; or if it did do so, it did not reveal itself in a second effort to convert his alma mater into a modern university. On the contrary, we shall see that, after the incorporation of the University of Virginia, he sought to deprive that venerable college of her endowment in order to provide financial support for the system of academies which formed a section of his comprehensive scheme for public instruction.

II. *Three Foreign Schemes*

Before the end of the eighteenth century, there were three foreign schemes to usher higher education into Virginia; but only two of them aroused Jefferson's interest; and only one obtained his practical assistance. The earliest, the project of Quèsnay de Beaurepaire, which was of a very ambitious and grandiose character, received a

douche of cold water from his pen. Jefferson, at this time, was residing in Paris as Minister to the Court of Versailles. Quesnay, before setting up a school in Richmond, with rather mixed departments of study, had been an officer in the American army under Lafayette's command. He was the grandson of a man who had acquired such fame in the medical profession as to be appointed physician to Louis XV; and had also won a high reputation as a philosopher and an economist. Quesnay had inherited a taste for science, but like so many young Frenchmen of his own age of good social standing, and graceful if not solid accomplishments, had been prompted by the spirit of adventure to accompany the French contingent to the United States, where, during several campaigns, he seems to have served in the capacity of an engineer. His health broke down before the close of the war; but he recovered sufficiently to travel widely through the different States. He was so much impressed by all that he saw, that he determined later to found, on the cornerstone of his Richmond school, a grand Academy of Arts and Sciences; and he is reported to have spoken of the project for the first time while visiting John Page at Rosewell, on the York. Page was so much delighted with the plan that he encouraged him to expect financial aid, should he be able to engage the faculty indispensable for carrying on the work of the Academy. Subscriptions amounting to sixty thousand francs were soon received; a site for the building was chosen in Richmond, which had been selected as the place for the new seat of learning; and the edifice was actually erected in the most fashionable quarter of the town. The foundation stone was laid in June, 1786, in the midst of a great multitude of interested spectators. Six councillors were nominated by the contributors to the building fund, and as they

were the most influential citizens of the community,—one of them being John Harvie, the mayor,—the author of the project had a right to look forward to local encouragement and assistance in the future.

Quesnay, justly elated with the progress already made, sailed for France to secure the patronage of influential persons in Paris, and the countenance of the Royal Government. He pushed his scheme in the most illustrious circles of the French capital with energy and address; visited the studios of artists, the closets of scientists, the *sâlons* of leaders of fashion, and the reception-rooms of public officials; and everywhere, his plans were received with expressions of sympathy and promises of financial support. Men standing at the summit in all the great departments of contemporary life,—literature, science, politics and society,—graciously permitted their names to be entered in the already voluminous list of associates. Lafayette, Beaumarchais, Montalembert, Houdon, Condorcet, Lavoisier, Malesherbes, Vernet, La Rochefoucauld,—statesmen, playwrights, warriors, sculptors, chemists, painters, wits, the most brilliant names in France,—were enrolled among the number.

But there was one person in that splendid city who held back from the scheme with a discouraging lack of enthusiasm, and that man was the very one, perhaps, whose favorable influence, and whose active co-operation, were the most important for its practical success. On January 6, 1788, Jefferson wrote to Quesnay in the following language: "I feared it (the plan) was too extensive for the poverty of the country. You remove the objection by observing it is to extend to several States. Whether professors itinerant from one State to another may succeed I am unable to say, having never known an experiment of it. The fear that those professors might

be disappointed in their expectation, has determined me not to intermeddle in the business at all. Knowing how much people going to America overrate the resources of living there, I have made a point never to encourage any person to go there, that I may not partake of the censure which may follow this disappointment. I beg you, therefore, not to alter your plan in any part of it on my account, but permit me to pursue mine of being absolutely neutral."

What were the details of the plan on which Jefferson commented so coldly and so distantly in these remarkable words? The Richmond Academy of Sciences was intended to be, in spirit at least, a trans-Atlantic rival of the great French Academy. The central organization was to be placed in the capital of Virginia, while there were to be co-ordinate branches in the cities of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. The list of studies was to embrace foreign languages, mathematics, physics, design, architecture, painting, sculpture, astronomy, geography, chemistry, botany, anatomy, and natural history. There was to be a large faculty on the ground; and in addition to the instruction to be given by them, the pupils were to have the benefit of the learning of one hundred and seventy-five non-resident associates, eminent in both America and Europe for their acquirements in the provinces of their respective pursuits. Experts in every branch of natural science especially were to be dispatched to Richmond from Paris, not only to teach these pupils, but also to advise the corporations and stock companies that were about to invest in the hitherto unexploited resources of the country. In the extensive researches which this would call for, the young men would assist, and thus not only garner up valuable knowledge, but, by turning in their wages, increase the sum already lying in

the treasury of the Academy. The scientific and literary societies of both hemispheres were to be kept informed of the work of the institution by correspondence, and also through an annual publication. Specimens of the flora and fauna of the North American continent were to be collected and sent to Europe to adorn its different museums and cabinets.

There was at least one feature of this scheme that justified Jefferson in declining to enter without reserve into the efforts to carry it out; it was probably rendered impracticable, as he said, by the scale on which it was projected. But why was it that he failed to offer a single suggestion towards lopping off the worst of its faults in order to reduce it to a shape that might make it workable? It was very unlike him to look at such a scheme with coldness, if there was any room whatever for hope of success. Did he jump beyond its apparently bald infeasibility and disapprove of it because it locked horns with the plan of a university which he was undoubtedly pondering over at this time, and which he had already perhaps decided to build, if possible, in the shadow of Monticello? Was the choice of Richmond, an hundred miles away, as the site of the new Academy, the true reason for an indifference which he had never before shown, and was never again to show, about any university scheme brought to his attention? The plan of transporting the College of Geneva to Virginia, which arose a few years later, was seemingly as impracticable in its character as Quesnay's plan, and yet it secured Jefferson's earnest and energetic support. There is no reason to doubt that he expected this college to be re-established in visiting distance of his own home at least. If he was really influenced by personal reasons in both cases, it was due to his perfectly correct impression that, if a university was

to be founded in Virginia, it would have more chance of succeeding under his own direct patronage and supervision than if left to the inadvertence and inexperience of foreigners, settled an hundred miles from Monticello.

The scheme of a transplanted French Academy fell through, not because it was impracticable, as it possibly was, but because the hour was unfavorable for its success. It did not pass beyond the selection of a course of studies, and the nomination of Dr. Jean Rouvelle as the instructor in natural history and chemistry; but there is no reason to presume that it would not have been at least organized had not the French Revolution, like a cyclone, been coming up, with all the distracting influences that went before its actual outburst. Socially and financially, France was in no state to give such a scheme the continuous support which it required, and naturally the scheme itself, as well as its author, finally sank into oblivion. But although it had never been put to the test of actual working, it yet left a perceptible impression on Jefferson's views in spite of his refusal to encourage it. Of all the plans for higher education canvassed in Virginia before the incorporation of the State University, this had the most affinity with the noble plan which he set in operation in 1825. The scientific bias that so conspicuously distinguished it was the one with which he was most enthusiastically in sympathy; and it was also the one that he was most anxious to give to his own seat of learning. And in addition, he adopted for that institution the system of separate schools which Quesnay had expected to introduce at Richmond.

We have seen that Jefferson refused to countenance Quesnay's projected academy because he was afraid lest the foreign professors, disappointed in their venture, should turn on him in censure, and yet, in 1794, eight

years later, he warmly encouraged the faculty of the College of Geneva to remove that seat of learning to Virginia. He did not seem to worry about the risk of their criticism should the purposes for which alone they wished to emigrate, fail. There was no difference in spirit at least between the scheme of Quesnay and the scheme of D'Ivernois. It is true that there was a turgidity about Quesnay's that was absent from D'Ivernois's; but this inflation would certainly have passed away under the influence of the practical Americans who would have co-operated with the Frenchman. The Genevans, on the other hand, were handicapped by that form of sectarianism which was most irksome to Jefferson's latitudinarian sympathies: Calvinism; but he seems to have been willing to wink at this drawback, as well as at the professors' inability to lecture in any language but that of their own country. It must, however, be borne in mind that these men were an organized body of high reputation in all scientific and literary spheres; and several of them had been thrown with him personally during his sojourn in Paris. It was this fact that led D'Ivernois, when his faculty had become dissatisfied with their environment in Switzerland, to consult him by letter as to the wisdom of uprooting their famous college and replanting it in the United States. Jefferson promptly submitted this proposal to certain influential members of the General Assembly, at the same time expressing the hope that provision would be made out of the public treasury to meet the expense of the transfer; but he was quickly condemned to disappointment, for the reply was returned that the State was not in the financial shape to take on so burdensome a charge. It was asserted too that no pupils would be found who could understand lectures in the French tongue; and furthermore, that this scheme,

like Quesnay's, was out of all just proportion to the population of the community to be served.

All these objections had very properly been considered by Jefferson to be of great weight when he was discountenancing the Richmond Academy, but he was now so much in earnest that, when the Legislature failed to respond to his wishes, he turned for aid to General Washington, who, having been presented by that body with stock in the Potomac and James River Companies, had announced his intention of giving it all away for the promotion of higher education. Jefferson pressed upon him the point, that, as the Treasury of Virginia would pay the dividends on this stock, this State should have the preference in the selection of the site for the National University which Washington had so long carried in his thoughts. This site might be chosen in the vicinity of the new Capital, if the influence of such a centre should be decided to be essential to its dignity and success. Washington at once disclosed that he was not in sympathy with Jefferson's suggestion. He was convinced, like the General Assembly, that the restriction of the lectures to the French languages would destroy the usefulness of the Genevan faculty in Virginia; and moreover, as that faculty disapproved of the popular freedom now enjoyed by the French, it was not probable that they would find themselves in harmony with their environment in the New World. But he was so far impressed by Jefferson's appeal that he gave the shares in the James River Company belonging to him to the college at Lexington, with the understanding that such of its students as should desire to obtain a more advanced education should seek it in that National University in the Capital which he intended endowing with his shares in the Potomac Company.

When Jefferson reported to D'Ivernois his failure to enlist support for his plan, either public or private, an echo of regret vibrated in the tone of his letter: "I should have seen with peculiar satisfaction," he wrote, "the establishment of such a mass of science in my country, and should probably have been tempted to approach myself to it by procuring a residence in its neighborhood at those seasons of the year when the operations of agriculture are less active and interesting." So far as can be discerned, the scheme of the Geneva College left no impression on his plans for his own university beyond perhaps satisfying him that foreign professors would not object to a permanent appointment in Virginia; and it was, no doubt, this conviction which, many years afterwards, led him, through Mr. Gilmer, to invite certain English scholars and scientists to occupy chairs in the seat of learning which he had founded at Charlottesville. But he was careful then to introduce no instructors from the continent,—unless Dr. Blaettermann, who was residing in England, can be taken to be such,—perhaps, because he recalled the objections which had been urged, in 1794, by the General Assembly and by Washington in opposition to the College of Geneva.

An influence that bore more directly on Jefferson's desire for a system of higher education in Virginia, had its spring with Du Pont de Nemours, whom he had known familiarly while the American minister in Paris. Du Pont reached the United States in 1800, and during his sojourn there, was an acceptable visitor at Monticello on numerous occasions. This accomplished Frenchman, who had already given much meditation to the subject in France, drew up a treatise on popular education, which, at this time, was deeply engaging the thoughts of some of the most distinguished men in America. Instruction

in the highest courses, as well as in the primary and secondary, was discussed in this memorable volume. These advanced courses were to cover, besides other ground, all the varied topics of professional and technical education. The different institutions, representing every grade, from common school to college, in which instruction was to be given, were to be scattered here and there about the country at large; but the apex of the whole system was to be the National University in Washington. This grand central institution was to consist of four distinct schools: (1) medicine; (2) mines; (3) social science and legislation; and (4) higher mathematics. These schools were to assemble in one large building, but to remain always entirely separate. There was to be erected, in addition, an imposing national library, and also a vast national museum, with apartments reserved for the sessions of a National Philosophical Society. This plan of Du Pont was, no doubt, suggested by the system which already prevailed in Paris; but it was also modeled somewhat on the scheme incorporated in the Bill of 1779 for the diffusion of knowledge among the Virginian people. It brought up to Jefferson ideas that he had already acquired by his residence abroad rather than ideas newly imported, which he had not turned over before in his reflections on the subject of education in all its departments.

It was one of the most obvious peculiarities of all Jefferson's schemes for the advancement of education that he confined their practical, though not their theoretical, scope to the inhabitants of his native State. The National University of Washington and Du Pont made no appeal to him, perhaps because he feared lest such a seat of learning should nourish those principles of consolidation, which, as we have seen, he detested so vehemently.

It was possibly one reason for his turning a cold face towards Quesnay that the Richmond Academy was not intended to stand alone, but to possess branches in at least three of the States north of the Potomac. To a clearly defined extent, this institution was to have a national bearing, a characteristic that was absent from the scheme of the Swiss college, which he received with such prompt and unreserved encouragement.

III. *Bill of 1779*

The first of all Jefferson's practical measures for public education was the Bill of 1779, which carried no expressed purpose in its text that was to reach beyond the borders of Virginia, yet, as it was based upon principles that went down to the foundation of society, its scope, in its broadest significance, was really as universal as the scope of the Declaration of Independence itself. In taking up the subject of his share in the drafting of this bill, we have come to the most interesting chapter in his career as an educational reformer previous to the establishment of the University of Virginia. By this measure, he sought to create in his native State, even before the fires of the Revolution had burnt out, a system of public instruction so far ahead of his times that the community continued too unripe to receive it until the War of Secession had removed everyone of those impediments, which he, with all his zeal and persistency, had found it impossible to surmount. But the credit due him should not be diminished but enhanced by the deferred consummation of his complete design, for it proved that his foresight was one hundred years in advance of the vision of the great body of his own countrymen. It was, however, no new and untried theory that he endeavored to put in

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practice. During several centuries, the concept that it was the duty of the State to educate all its citizens had prevailed in many coteries in Europe, but it was not until the eighteenth century that the politico-economical value of that concept was fully tested by Prussia and Austria in a scheme of popular instruction scientifically ordered and rigidly enforced. Massachusetts had adopted a similar scheme as early as 1647. At first, the system in that colony stood upon a religious platform; next, the purely utilitarian view intruded; and then, finally, the belief that, by universal education, the people could be trained to govern themselves more wisely, and to preserve their political freedom more securely.

The latter was the opinion which Jefferson himself entertained. He wrote Washington, in 1786, that the liberties of the community were only safe when they were in the grasp of an "instructed people"; and that it was the business of the State to give this instruction; and that this could not be done successfully except in harmony with a general plan. What he thought that general plan should be was very lucidly expressed in the bill of 1779. At the time that he drew up this bill, the schools of Virginia differed but little in quality from those in existence there during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: there were the home schools for the children of affluent planters taught by private tutors; the old field schools for the children of the upper and middle classes alike; and the College of William and Mary for the higher training of all who aspired to it. Jefferson, in later years, justly claimed for himself the credit of having been the first citizen of the State to propose, in a formal way, the substitution of a concatenated system of public education for the unarticulated methods of private education which he discovered in use in his youth. Early in

1776, while a member of the General Assembly, he was chosen as the chairman of the committee appointed to revise the laws of the new Commonwealth. After the elimination of Mason by resignation, and of Lee by death, this committee was composed of Wythe, Pendleton, and himself, the three men whom the entire community acknowledged to be the most fully and nicely equipped for the work in view to be found in Virginia; but that work was really performed by Jefferson and Wythe, pupil and master of old, who were keenly in sympathy with each other in liberality of opinion, and quite on a level in breadth of information. As a proof of their insatiable appetite for their task, it is reported of them that they went carefully through the whole collection of British and Colonial statutes, and drew out those that seemed to them to be most apposite to the genius, and most fostering to the peace and prosperity, of the Virginian people.

Of the one hundred and twenty-six bills in which their conclusions were precisely incorporated, the one for the diffusion of knowledge was hammered into shape by Jefferson alone. It was drawn up, in reality, in the form of three bills, which provided (1) for the erection of primary schools,—in which the children of all classes were to be taught the rudiments of education,—and of colleges, in which all higher grades were to be open to older pupils; (2) for the establishment of a university in the broadest sense of the word; and (3) for the collection of a great library, to be used by students and readers of all ages. Jefferson, in drafting this bill, did not narrow his gaze to the intellectual and moral advantages of education only, but, looking forward, he was convinced that he had raised a new bulwark for the defense of political freedom, by providing for the division of each

county into wards as the local unit for the elementary schools.

An examination of the preamble of this famous bill reveals that it was written under the influence of all those emotions which were most inflamed by the Revolutionary struggle that was still in progress. All persons in power, it states in substance, are invariably inclined to use that power for the ends of tyranny. How is this disposition to be combated? By educating the people so thoroughly that they will be able to detect at once the encroachments of sinister and scheming office-holders, and to block them before any permanent damage is done. Education too will make the average office-holder himself more solicitous to guard the rights and liberties of citizens as well as more competent to administer their affairs.

The practical clauses of the bill provided for the election in every county of three persons to be known as aldermen, who were to meet first at the court-house to divide the county into hundreds, each of which was to embrace a sufficient number of pupils to make up a school. The site of the school-house having been chosen by the voters of the hundred, the aldermen were to erect a suitable building thereon, in which were to gather the children for instruction in reading, writing, and common arithmetic, and also in Roman, Greek, English and American history. They were to be at no expense for this tuition during the first three years of their attendance. Each set of ten schools was to be under the supervision of officers, with authority to appoint the teachers, to visit the several school-houses, and to inspect and question the pupils; and each school was to be subject to a competent overseer. Next the State was to be divided into groups of counties with a view to the establishment of colleges for secondary education. The overseers of the elementary

schools of each group were to choose the site for the college of that group, which they were required to construct of brick or stone, with ten or twelve lodging rooms for the use of double that number of pupils. A master and usher were, in each college, to give instruction in the Greek and Latin languages, English grammar, geography, and the higher branches of arithmetic,—for such was the course which Jefferson thought to be sufficient for the education of the average person who was in the possession of an easy fortune. Each college was to be under the watchful and controlling eyes of a rector and board of visitors, who were to select its teachers and administer its finances.

The expense of gathering up food for the students, employing a steward, and hiring servants, was to be divided among the pupils. Those among them who were attending the classes gratuitously were also to be relieved, through the public treasury, of the cost of subsistence, while the balance of the expenses was to be met by the parents of the pupils who were able to pay. Every elementary school in each group of counties was to have the right to enter its most promising scholar each year, without charge, in the college of that district, if his father or guardian was too indigent to provide for his necessary outlay. Annually, too, one third of the boys thus advanced were to be dropped from the roll; and of those who should succeed in remaining two years because of their industry and talents, one was to be retained, with the privilege of staying two years longer in the college. The students who should thus signalize themselves were to be chosen as seniors; and every year one senior was to be selected from the whole number of those in attendance at each college, to be sent on to William and Mary University,—for the bill, as we see, converted that in-

stitution into a university,— there to be taught, clothed, and boarded at the public charge. This regulation would assure the presence annually in Williamsburg of about twenty young men of no fortune, who had exhibited in the colleges superior capacity and scholarship, and who would, otherwise, have failed to receive the higher education to which their ability and diligence justly entitled them.

There were four remarkable features in this scheme of public instruction. The first was that the pupils in the elementary schools, which embraced the children of the entire white population, were to be grounded in history, both ancient and modern. The reason given for this provision was characteristic of Jefferson: by apprising them of the experience of other times and other nations, they would be the better qualified to fortify themselves against the intrigues of lurking tyranny. A second feature was that it would enable the poorest boys of talent to enjoy every advantage of education that was in the reach of the sons of the wealthy. And, thirdly, by giving an opportunity to youths of promise to advance from the lowest to the highest grade,— that is to say, from the elementary school to the university,— it would knit all parts of the system firmly together. Finally, by imposing local taxes for the support of the elementary schools, it would establish a principle that would entirely relieve the State treasury of their charge, and also ensure a more careful attention to the proper use of the money to be raised, by obtaining it exclusively from the parents of the pupils immediately benefited.

By the terms of the second bill, the College of William and Mary was to be transformed into a veritable university. The courses of instruction laid off for it, in its altered form, were to be distributed under the following

heads: the fine arts, applied science, municipal and foreign law, theology, and also ecclesiastical history so far as it was not coupled with sectarianism. No provision seems to have been made for languages, perhaps because the Greek and Latin tongues were expected to make up an essential part of the curriculum of the district colleges. Under the head of applied science, military and naval science was to be taught; horticulture and agriculture too; and also the practical relations of science to the arts and manufactures, to medicine, surgery, and pharmacy.

It was Jefferson's opinion that the whole educational scheme of 1779 failed to become law largely on account of this second bill. He had hoped that, by arranging for the elementary schools and colleges in a separate measure, and by making the divinity course at the new university purely historical, he would disarm the hostility of the Presbyterians and Baptists, and bring them to a hearty concurrence with his plans; but they soon began to suspect that there was some secret purpose to favor the Episcopalians by placing the old Episcopal College at the apex of the public school system; and they coldly turned their patronage away from the whole design.¹ But it is possible that the reluctance of the property-holders to shoulder the additional taxes, which, as will be seen, cropped up in 1796, when the like plan was broached, had much to do with the defeat of these educational bills. Had Jefferson not been kept out of the State by his mission to France, and afterwards, by his occupancy of a seat in Washington's Cabinet, his energy and persistency, brought to bear directly on the spot, would, perhaps, have led to the early adoption of his scheme of popular educa-

¹ Jefferson wrote to Dr. Priestley, "As I had preferred that William and Mary, under an improved form, should be the University, and it was, at that time, pretty highly Episcopal, the Dissenters, after a while began to apprehend some secret design of preference for that sect."

tion,—not simply in the letter, as was partially done in 1796, but in positive actual practice.

IV. *Jefferson's Schemes of Popular Education*

It was not until the close of his Presidential term in 1809, that Jefferson was so completely released from all official responsibilities that he could fix his mind continuously on the subject which had enlisted his earnest sympathy and support so early in his political career. Hardly had he taken up his residence under the roof of Monticello, when he once more turns to that subject, and during the remainder of his long life, it held a place in the very centre of all his daily thoughts. In no form did these ponderings find a weightier expression than in his famous letter to Peter Carr, in 1814. In that letter, he again laid down the various lines which a system of public instruction, in his judgment, should follow. Again he broadly declared, by way of introduction, that every citizen was entitled to an education commensurate with his condition and calling in life. How was this to be determined? By the social station to which he belonged. The whole community was capable of division into two classes: (1) the laboring class; and (2) the learned class. Members of the first would require elementary tuition to qualify them for the proper performance of their tasks; members of the second would need it as an indispensable forerunner to further study. So soon as the primary school had been left behind, the laboring class were expected to begin the pursuit of agriculture, or serve apprenticeships in different handicrafts, while, on the other hand, the learned class were expected to enter the colleges, which were to be divided into General Schools and Professional Schools, representing, respectively, the sec-

ond grade, and the third or most advanced grade of instruction.

The entire learned class was to receive their secondary training in the General Schools, in which the highest branches of knowledge were to be taught. The round of studies there was to embrace the languages, mathematics, and philosophy. Provision was to be made in the department of languages for lessons in history, both ancient and modern; and belles-lettres, rhetoric, and oratory were also to be included in this department as well as such special tuition as was suited to the needs of the deaf and dumb. The course in mathematics was to embrace pure mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, and anatomy and the theory of medicine, while the course in philosophy should take in ideology, ethics, the law of nature and nations, government, and political economy. The Professional Schools,—to which all deciding to follow a profession were to have access, after passing through the General Schools,—were to cover as wide a field as the latter, but on a higher level; they were to consist of three distinct divisions: (1) department of fine arts, which was to embrace civil architecture, painting, sculpture, and the theory of music; (2) department of military and naval architecture, projectiles, agriculture, horticulture, technical philosophy, practice of medicine, materia medica, pharmacy, and surgery; (3) department of theology and ecclesiastical history, and municipal and foreign law.

These several departments were designed to offer the graduate of the General Schools the opportunity to acquire the necessary knowledge of any one of the following professional subjects: law, medicine, theology, agriculture, army and navy architecture, painting, and landscape gardening. In the school of technical philosophy,

instruction was to be given in the arts of the optician, metallurgist, founder, cutler, druggist, vintner, distiller, dyer, bleacher, soapmaker, tanner, powder-maker, salt-maker, and glass-maker, and in all the other arts pursued by practical tradesmen. In the same school, there would be assembled students in geometry, pure mechanics, statics, hydraulics, navigation, astronomy, optics, pneumatics, acoustics, physics, chemistry, natural history, botany, mineralogy and pharmacy. All these branches of study were to be maintained at the public expense. And on appointed days, the entire corps of scholars in each college were to be trained in manual exercises, and in military evolutions and manoeuvres.

This letter to Peter Carr,—of which we have given only a meagre synopsis,—contains the most complete description which Jefferson ever drew up of his plans for public education. It reveals that his point of view had not changed in spite of the interval of forty years since 1776, during which his observations and impressions of scholastic institutions of every sort had been broadened and ripened by foreign travel. He himself, in a letter written to Governor Nicholas in 1816, referred to it as a digest of all the information which he had been able to gather on the subject upon which it bore; and it will always possess an uncommon interest as foreshadowing the courses of instruction which he introduced into the lecture-rooms of the University of Virginia. In the teeth of popular hostility, he persisted in pronouncing the local school, supported by local taxation, to be the only proper one for elementary tuition; and time and reflection, he said, had but confirmed his opinion as to the correctness of the general principle of subdividing the counties into wards for this purpose.

Jefferson perceived very clearly that the sentiment of

the General Assembly, so soon as it took up the question of public instruction in earnest, with the establishment of the Literary Fund in 1810, gave the priority to elementary education over collegiate and university education, at the State's expense. Was it possible for the resources of the Commonwealth to sustain the entire system as urged by him? If that system was to be kept up, as a whole, he was precisely right in thinking that the elementary schools should be maintained by local taxation, and the general funds of the State reserved for the support of advanced tuition. And this opinion he again engrafted in the bill which he was requested by Joseph C. Cabell, in 1817, to prepare for submission to the General Assembly during the session of 1817-1818. "If twelve or fifteen hundred schools," he wrote, "are to be placed under one general administration, an attention so divided will amount to a dereliction of them to themselves. It is surely better then to place each school at once under the care of those most interested in its conduct. In this way, the Literary Fund is left untouched to complete at once the whole system of education by establishing a college in every district of about eighty miles square, for the second grade of education; and for the third grade, a single university, where the sciences shall be taught in their highest degree." The new bill which he presented was at first entitled an *Act for Establishing Elementary Schools*, but it was subsequently expanded in its scope to take in numerous colleges and a university, and was then entitled: *A Bill to Establish a System of Public Education*. There is an undertone of pathos in the letter which he wrote to Cabell when sending on its final draft: "I wish it to be understood," he said, "that I do not intermeddle with public affairs. It is my duty, and equally my wish, to leave them to those who are to feel the benefit

and burden of measures. The interest I feel in the system of education and wards has seduced me into the part which I have taken as to them, and still attaches me to their success. . . . There is a time to retire from labor, and that time has come for me."

This bill differed only in petty details from the bill of 1779, or from the scheme of general education set forth in the letter to Peter Carr, in 1814. First, a school was to be established in each ward, in which the children of that ward alone were to receive instruction during three years at the common charge. The school-house and the dwelling-house for the teacher were to be built by the parents at their own expense. A log cabin was to be considered sufficient in each instance, since the constant shifting of the population was certain to render necessary the frequent removal of both houses to some situation more convenient for the majority of the pupils in attendance. A teacher capable of grounding these pupils in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, was to be employed at a salary of one hundred and fifty dollars a year, with an allowance of bread and meat for subsistence. In selecting the instructors, the board of visitors, who were to have charge of the schools, were always to give the preference to members of the laboring class, such as mechanics, overseers, and tillers of the soil; and among these, the first choice should fall on persons who were infirm in health, crippled in limb, or advanced in years.

Secondly, the State was to be divided into nine districts, in each of which a college was to be erected, to be subject to a board of visitors composed of one member from each county belonging to that district, and all under the control of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund. There was to be built for each college a house of brick or stone, to contain two rooms in which the reci-

tations were to be held, and four for each professor's use, with sixteen dormitories for the accommodation of thirty-two pupils. There were to be two instructors, at least; and they were to be required to teach the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and German languages, the higher branches of mathematics, the mensuration of land, the handling of globes, and the fundamental rules of navigation. Each professor was to receive five hundred dollars out of the Literary Fund of the State, with such additions as should accrue from the tuition fees of the members of his classes; who were also expected to pay rent for their apartments and the charges for their board.

* Thirdly, a university was to be established in a healthy and central part of the State; and here all the divisions of the useful arts were to be taught in their highest branches. Visitors were to be annually nominated by the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, now to be known as the Board of Public Instruction; the site of the new institution was to be chosen by the first set of these visitors; but the plan of the buildings was to be furnished, or at least, approved by the Central Board. The dormitories were to be so constructed as to admit of additions to their dimensions as the number of students should increase. The professors were not to exceed ten in number; and the fixed salary of each should be one thousand dollars, to be swelled by the tuition fees of his pupils. The courses of instruction were to embrace history, geography, natural philosophy, agriculture, chemistry, theory of medicine, anatomy, botany, zoology, mineralogy, geology, pure and mixed mathematics, military and naval science, ideology, ethics, the law of nature and nations, municipal and foreign law, the science of civil government, political economy, languages, rhetoric, belles-lettres, and the fine arts. The visitors were to have the

control of all the buildings; and they were also to appoint and overlook all officers and agents; select the professors; and draw up rules for the general discipline of the students and regulations for their subsistence.

When Jefferson drafted this bill for public education he was eager for the conversion of Central College into the University of Virginia; and he went so far as to insert the name of the former seat of learning in the alternate column opposite the words that required the choice of a site for the projected university to be made in a central and healthy part of the State. He did this with the hope that the General Assembly would, if the bill were accepted, authorize the adoption of this secondary clause by amendment.

The bill is significant from another point of view: now that Jefferson was actively employed in building Central College, and was looking forward to its transformation into a great State university, which would need a large annual appropriation for its support, he appeared to be less generous and less enlightened in his attitude towards primary education. Log cabins for schoolhouses and crippled mechanics for teachers seem to be a rather scant provision for elementary tuition; and in making such a suggestion, he plainly had cheapness in view to an extent that promised little for the real improvement of the class that needed instruction most. He would hardly have ventured on this suggestion, had he not apprehended that an appropriation by the State at large for elementary education would diminish the chance of obtaining an appropriation for university education. In 1820, when the highest branch of his general plan had been adopted, and the University of Virginia was in the course of erection, his fear of a shortened State bounty for that institution returned, and again he deprecated a large outlay for the

primary school. "The inhabitants of each ward," he wrote to Cabell that year, in repetition of his old scheme, "meeting together as when they work the roads, building good log-houses for their school and teacher, and contributing for his provision rations of pork, beef, and corn in proportion each of his other taxes, would thus lodge and feed him without feeling it; and those of them who were able, paying for the tuition of their own children, would leave no call on the public fund but for the tuition fee of here and there an individual pauper, who would still be fed and lodged with his parents."¹

There was an additional reason now,—and a highly characteristic one, too,—why Jefferson advocated the ward school: it would keep elementary education out of the hands of fanatical preachers, "who, in the county elections," he said, "would be universally chosen, and the predominant sect of the county would possess itself of all its schools."

But while he appeared to be inclined to favor the higher institutions at the expense of the dignity and prosperity of the elementary schools at this particular moment of his career, he never swerved in his loyalty to his general plan; and he went so far as to write to Cabell, in 1823, that, were it necessary to give up either the primary schools or the university, he would rather abandon the university, "because it was safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened than a few in a high state of science, and the many in ignorance." "The last," he added, "is the most dangerous in which a people can be." He saw at this time, with regretful clearness, that the resources of the Literary Fund were not sufficient to support that entire system of public education which he had so long urged, and he preferred that the second grade,

¹ Date of letter, Nov. 28, 1820, Cabell Papers, MSS. University Library.

composed of the colleges, should be dropped, if any lopping off had to be done, because the large body of students who expected to attend these colleges, were the offspring of parents of some fortune, who could easily afford to send them to academies of repute already in existence. But how closely he still had the intermediate schools in his old scheme at heart was revealed in the plan which he sent to Cabell in 1824, when it was proposed to remove the College of William and Mary from Williamsburg to Richmond. He, as well as Cabell, was hostile to that step as tending to jeopardize the success of the University of Virginia, now on the point of throwing open its doors. It seems that the College of William and Mary possessed an endowment fund of one hundred thousand dollars. Now, exclaimed Jefferson, we have an opportunity of establishing the secondary colleges; let the General Assembly strip the old institution of its fortune and distribute it, in the form of endowment funds of ten thousand dollars each, among the ten colleges which should be erected in the ten districts into which Virginia should at once be divided. This would relieve the central treasury of the tax that would have to be imposed, should these colleges have to be set up at the State's expense. The College of William and Mary might be reserved as one of them; so might Washington College; and so might Hampden-Sidney College too. Thus out of one college, there might be created ten, every one of which would be as useful as the mother of them all, now reduced to the level of her own numerous offspring.

Cabell threw cold water on the proposition, because, in his judgment, the fear of public opinion was not ripe for it; and in addition, the colleges then in existence could not be effectively insinuated into the projected system. This, however, was not thought by Jefferson to be essen-

tial, as each district, in order to obtain its share of the endowment fund, would, he anticipated, be willing to contribute a site and the buildings for the institution assigned to it. As the College of William and Mary was not removed to Richmond, the liberal disposition of its funds which he rather gratuitously suggested, ceased to be a practical question. When, for the last time, he brought forward his general plan for public instruction, he stood only a little way from the closing year of his long life. While it may be correctly said of him that he had shown more energy in pushing that part of his scheme which looked to the establishment of a university, nevertheless he made no groundless claim when he asserted, in 1818, that "a system of general education, which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so it will be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest." In his advocacy of that system, he had remained singularly consistent to his original plan, from 1779, when it was first publicly broached, down to 1825, when it was last brought up. First, there were to be the elementary schools, which were to be confined to the hundreds or wards into which every county was to be divided; secondly, the grammar schools, which were really classical academies or colleges; and thirdly, a State university. "But I am not tenacious," he earnestly declared in 1818, "of the form in which it (public education) shall be introduced. Be that what it may, our descendants will be as wise as we are, and will know how to amend it until it shall suit their circumstances. Give it to us in any shape, and receive for the inestimable boon the thanks of the young and the blessings of the old, who are past all other but prayers for the prosperity of their country and blessings for those who promote it."

v. Educational Measures Adopted

How far was this boon, which the venerable statesman had striven so persistently and so disinterestedly throughout his long career to bestow, conferred by legislative action previous to the establishment of the University of Virginia? To what degree did his comprehensive scheme fall short of legislative consummation, and why did it fail to that extent? A variety of influences were working to scotch his activities in this field, if not to make them wholly abortive and fruitless. In a letter to Cabell, dated February 4, 1826, he said, "I have been long sensible, that while I was endeavoring to render our country the greatest of all services, that of regenerating the public education, and placing our rising generation on the level of our sister states, which they have proudly held heretofore, I was discharging the odious function of a physician pouring medicine down the throat of a patient insensible of needing it."

In reality, the patient declined to take any of the medicine, except in a dose so small and so diluted as to produce no perceptible improvement in his condition. Although Jefferson informs us that the bill of 1779 was received at first "with enthusiasm," it soon had no spark of life in its bowels, and lay as it were still-born in the minutes of the General Assembly for seventeen years. In 1796, a bill was introduced which was based in substance on the principle of that of 1779, so far as the latter bill related to elementary schools; and it was only to such schools that the new measure applied. Each county having been divided into districts, aldermen were to be chosen by its voters to decide upon the expediency of summoning the householders of each district together to pass upon the question of erecting primary schools for that district.

If its citizens were found to be favorable to the establishment of such schools,—which every child within its bounds was at liberty to attend three years without charge,—then a local tax was to be levied to meet the cost of the school-house, its site, and the services of a teacher.

Unfortunately, an amendment granted the right to the county court to determine the year in which the aldermen were to be appointed, and until this was done, no valid election could be held by the householders. This clause, which was really inserted to sound the death-knell of the bill, was a subtle political device at bottom. The members of the General Assembly knew that the measure was a popular one with the lowest class of voters, and an unpopular one with the highest class, and they, therefore, shifted the responsibility from themselves to the magistrates, without appearing to be at all opposed to the wishes of their constituents. It is certain that the magistrates as a body felt no sympathy with any general plan of popular education; and in addition, were not disposed, as the representatives of the wealth of the community, to shoulder the expense of providing free instruction for the children of their less fortunate neighbors. They refused to acknowledge the force of Jefferson's argument that they would profit by public education because it would people every countryside "with honest, useful, and enlightened citizens"; nor did they discover any pertinency to themselves in his suggestion that, as there were only three generations between shirt-sleeves and shirt-sleeves, their grandchildren, having fallen to the level of the poor, would have to depend upon the taxes paid by the rich for their restoration, through education, to the affluence and social position of their grandfathers.

The opportunity opened up by this Act was used only by those few counties which were sagacious enough to per-

ceive the advantages which it would confer on all classes of their population. On the other hand, into such comparative neglect did collegiate tuition in his native State during the next few decades, gradually sink that Jefferson thought himself justified in saying that the Old Dominion was in immediate danger of becoming the "Barbary of the Union." "The mass of education in Virginia before the Revolution," he exclaimed, with an undisguised bitterness, "placed her foremost of her sister colonies. What is her condition now? Where is it? We have to import like beggars from other States, or import their beggars to bestow on us their miserable crumbs." It was estimated that, down to 1825, the number of pupils in attendance at the three important colleges, William and Mary, Washington, and Hampden-Sidney, did not annually rise above one hundred and fifty. On the other hand, nearly one half of all the matriculates of Princeton, from year to year, at this time, were said to be young men from Virginia; and it was calculated that a quarter of a million of dollars was, during every twelve months, paid into the treasuries of Northern institutions by students coming up from that State. Perhaps this was not so great an evil in itself as Jefferson was inclined to think, for, by drawing young men from the South into the North even temporarily, it had a tendency to nourish a stronger national feeling, and to lessen the narrow and mischievous spirit of provincialism. The reciprocation lay in the large band of tutors from Northern States, who, during this period, were employed in wealthy Virginian families; they were, with few exceptions, graduates of Northern colleges; and many of them bore old and honorable names. It was not their scholarship, but their inherited leaning towards Federalism, in most instances, that probably prompted Jefferson to describe them as "beggars,"

an epithet that did them, in the mass, as we shall see, grave injustice.

Even if he exaggerated the need of more numerous facilities for secondary instruction,—which, in reality, were fairly abundant,—he was right in lamenting the languishing condition of higher education and in condemning the very small provision for primary education which existed in Virginia at this time. After his return to Monticello, in 1809,—his incumbency of the Presidency having come to an end,—he began at once to exert his influence to bring about an improvement; and a revival of interest in the subject in the public mind was soon to be noted. Governor Monroe, in 1801 and 1802, and Governor Cabell, in 1806 and 1808, had, in their annual messages, referred to the shrinkage of general education in the State, but no popular response had followed. In October, 1809, Jefferson was the guest of Governor Tyler, a man ardently in sympathy with him in all his plans for the public welfare, and it is possible that the conference of the two, on this occasion, was the root of the noble message submitted by Tyler, in December of the same year, to the General Assembly, in which he urged, with earnest and far-sighted patriotism, the needs of Virginia in the way of popular instruction. Tyler had been among the most zealous supporters of the bill of 1779, and had, at all times, upheld the plans which Jefferson had framed for the curtailment of the general illiteracy. That part of his message which related to education was referred, in December, to a committee, who, in the following January, reported the bill that authorized the establishment of the Literary Fund.

This beneficent measure, which alone enabled Jefferson to carry out a part,—fortunately the greater part,—of his splendid scheme of popular education, passed the

General Assembly on February 2, 1810. It provided that all escheats, compositions, fines, penalties, and forfeitures, should be especially reserved for the encouragement of learning. Its author was James Barbour, who was then the Speaker of the House, and afterwards a distinguished figure in national politics.¹ The fund thus created was designed primarily for the instruction of the poor, but as the parents of indigent children were slow to take advantage of it, it was, in time, expended chiefly for the benefit of the higher seats of learning. During the session of 1815-16, the remainder of the principal of the debt due Virginia by the National Government was transferred to the credit of this fund, which, by December, 1817, had grown to nearly one million dollars. So soon as it was created, the principal and interest were put under the control of a Board known as the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, a body which was composed of the Governor of the State, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Treasurer, Attorney-General, and President of the Court of Appeals,—the foremost officials and most responsible men in the Commonwealth. In January, 1816, Cabell had shown Charles Fenton Mercer, the Chairman of the Committee on Finance in the House of Delegates, a copy of the letter written by Jefferson to Peter Carr, in 1814, which gave in detail his views as to the system of public education to be set underway in Virginia.² This letter was also published in

¹ Among the letters included in the Barbour Correspondence at Barboursville, Va., is one from Governor Barbour, then in Washington, directing his son at home to go through his papers for the original draft of the resolution looking to the establishment of this Fund. This draft, he said, was in his own handwriting.

² J. C. Cabell writes from Richmond January 24, 1816: "Since writing the enclosed letter, I have canvassed with Mr. Mercer of the House of Delegates, to whom I had lent your letter to Mr. Carr. He seemed much pleased with your view of the subject, and as he proposed to make

the *Enquirer*. It, no doubt, inspired the epochal resolution, adopted February 24, 1816, which required the President and Directors of the Literary Fund to report to the Legislature an elaborate scheme of public instruction. On December 6, 1816, this scheme was submitted, and was found to consist of a graded system of schools; namely, elementary schools, academies, and a university.

How had the Board arrived at a decision in harmony at least with the framework of Jefferson's plan? The President of that body was Governor Nicholas, a friend and fellow-countyman. He had applied to Jefferson for advice so soon as the report was ordered, and Jefferson had suggested that he should read his letter to Peter Carr as embodying his ripest thought about the subject under investigation. While counsel was obtained by the Board from many distinguished men, both in America and in Europe,—whose letters were formally delivered with the report,—its recommendations bore, in their main features certainly, the perceptible stamp of Jefferson's long projected system of public education. There was the partition of the county into wards or townships for the establishment of elementary schools; there was the division of the State into districts for the establishment of academies, in which the Latin, Greek and French languages, mathematics, geography and astronomy were to be taught; and there was provision for the erection of a university, which would furnish advanced instruction in the whole round of the arts and sciences. The same opportunity was thrown open to indigent boys of promise to pass on, at the public charge, from the lowest to the

a report to the House, concurs with me on the propriety of availing the country of the light you have offered in this great interest of the country."

highest grade. Above all, it must have been gratifying to Jefferson to find that the Board urged that the site of the university should be chosen in a central part of the State; and that they adopted the plan for professorships and courses of tuition which he had always advised, and which he believed in as firmly now as he had done in the beginning.

In one important particular, however, the tenor of the report must have caused him disappointment: it recommended that the income of the Literary Fund should be first applied to the establishment of an elementary school in each township; that an academy in each district should be next founded; and that an appropriation should be made for the university only in case the surplus remaining should be sufficient in volume. Twenty thousand youths, the report asserted, were looking to the Literary Fund for primary education, and they could rightly demand that they should be the first to be considered in its annual distribution. This was altogether in harmony with Jefferson's opinion, too, should the money for public instruction be limited to the Literary Fund; and it was his calculation that the income from this Fund would not furnish means enough for a general system of education, which led him to advocate a local levy for the support of the elementary schools. But the upshot of the bill of 1796 had shown very plainly what would be the fate of any provision for local taxation; and in urging, as the President and Directors of the Literary Fund did, the education of all the poor at the expense of all the people, they were bringing forward the only practical scheme for the improvement of that part of the population which had a far higher moral and civic claim upon the benevolence of the Commonwealth than that more fortunate part which would be able to seek the shades of

the projected academies and of the university at their own expense.

Their recommendation, however,—wise and patriotic as it was,—was too radical for the spirit of that short-sighted age. Charles Fenton Mercer, Chairman of the Finance Committee, framed a bill which took in the most important features of the Board's report. It passed the House of Delegates, February 18, 1817, but was defeated in the Senate two days later, on the ground that the expenditure of so large a sum of money should be first submitted for approval to the popular vote. It had reached the Senate at an unfortunate moment, for that body, as Cabell, a member of it, has recorded, was now impatient to break up and return to their homes. Before they adjourned, they ordered a general distribution of the report of the Board of the Literary Fund.

Although the Mercer bill had been suggested, partly by the letter to Peter Carr, and partly by the report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, which reflected Jefferson's views in general, it nevertheless contained, like this report also, one stipulation of which he disapproved. While it divided the counties into wards, it required the Board to pay to the trustees of each elementary school two hundred dollars to cover the necessary outlay for the teacher's salary, and also ten dollars with which to purchase books for the pupils. The bill called for the acquisition of fifty acres near the centre of the State as a site for the university; and it appropriated one hundred thousand dollars for the buildings and ten thousand for the library. Although provision was thus made for the establishment of a university, and also of a large number of academies, priority in the distribution of the money was still to be given to the support of the elementary schools.

When the Mercer bill, after passing the House, miscarried in the Senate, Cabell requested Jefferson to put his scheme for public education in a shape that would allow of its being submitted to the General Assembly as a substitute. He cheerfully complied. His first purpose, he wrote, in October, 1817, "was to contrive a plan which would conform to the real resources of the State." "Unless something less extravagant," he said of the Mercer bill, "can be devised, the whole undertaking must fail. The primary schools alone in that plan would exhaust the whole fund; the colleges as much more; and a university would never come into existence."

We have already cited the details of the bill which Jefferson now drafted. It followed closely the lines of all his previous expressions on the subject. It was introduced into the House of Delegates by Samuel Taylor, of Chesterfield; but on February 11, (1818), it failed of passage, and a substitute, in the form of an amendment, offered by Mr. Hill, of King and Queen county, was adopted. This amendment restricted the expenditure of the income of the Literary Fund to the education of the poor. This had always been the disposition of the members of the popular branch of the Legislature, who were opposed to ward taxation for that purpose because they believed it to be altogether repugnant to the wishes and convictions alike of their most influential constituents. The money that was to be appropriated under the Hill amendment was to be distributed among the counties as a bounty for the maintenance of charity schools. There was some political animosity to Jefferson in the support which this amendment received; and this seems to have been most acute in the breasts of the delegates from the western counties, who, finding that he had inserted in his bill, in a parallel column, the name of the Central

College at Charlottesville as the site of the projected university, took it for granted that, if this institution was established there, the State capital would soon be removed thither rather than beyond the Blue Ridge, as they so earnestly desired. The opposition to his bill in the House,—of which he had been informed by Cabell,—caused a wave of unwonted despondency to pass over his mind, for on February 11, he wrote, "I believe that I have erred in meddling with it (the educational provision) at all, and that it has done more harm than good. A strong interest felt on the subject through my whole life, ought to excuse me with those who differ from me in opinion, and should protect me from unfriendly feelings. Nobody more strongly than myself advocates the right of every generation to legislate for itself, and the advantages which each succeeding generation has over the preceding one from the constant progress of science and arts."

The amended bill soon reached the Senate. It was first brought up before a committee composed of Chapman Johnson, John W. Green, and Joseph C. Cabell. Cabell submitted two propositions: one, which had been suggested by Jefferson, divided the State into academic districts without any consideration of the existing colleges; the other, which sprang from Cabell alone, took in these colleges as a part of the general system. He also renewed the demand for a university in accord with the tenor of the original bill. His colleagues pressed upon him that he was aiming for too much, and that, at this stage of the campaign for the entire scheme, it would be wiser to insist only upon the restoration of a university to the plan. The bill passed the Senate in this form by a vote of fourteen to three; and on February 21 finally became law. Those members who favored only

the instruction of the poor were forced to consent to the establishment of a university, while those who favored a university were compelled to give up for the present all hope of securing a large number of district colleges to serve as feeders for the proposed higher seat of learning. It was a compromise won by the advocates of advanced education in spite of those "local interests, factious views, and lamentable ignorance," upon which Cabell reflected, with acute exasperation, in a letter to Jefferson written at the time.¹

Forty-five thousand dollars was to be annually appropriated for the support of the elementary schools and only fifteen thousand for that of the projected university. School commissioners, to be appointed by the courts of the counties, towns and cities, were to determine how many children were to be taught, and also how much money was to be paid out for that purpose by the different treasurers, whose number was to be in proportion to the needy white population. This was to be derived from the annual appropriation of forty-five thousand dollars; but all funds and properties in the hands of the overseers of the poor, not otherwise assigned, were to form an additional resource. The commissioners were to return to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund an annual report showing how many pupils there were then in the schools, and estimating the sum that would be required, the following year, to educate all the penniless children in the State. Advantage was taken in many counties and towns of the benefits offered by this Act. It soon became the custom for teachers to enroll the children of the poor in their schools, and at the end of the session, send in a list of them to the nearest

¹ The authority for this account will be found in a statement in Cabell's handwriting included among the Cabell Papers in the University Library.

commissioner for approval; this list was then handed over to the sheriff; who, when all the lists had been received, divided among the teachers proportionately to the number of their respective indigent scholars, the sum which had been appropriated for the county out of the Literary Fund.

Not until the War of Secession had altered the economic and social condition of Virginia was the system of public education in the lower grades, advocated by Jefferson, put in practice. Not even then, however, were the elementary schools made entirely dependent upon even county taxation, but in confirmation of his foresight, it has been noticed that the most efficient public schools are to be found wherever local taxation has been relied on chiefly for their support.¹ Not until 1906 was any test made of that part of his scheme which created a large number of district secondary schools; in the course of that year, fifty thousand dollars, increased to one hundred thousand later, was appropriated for maintaining a system of such schools distributed among the Congressional districts, with special provision for the training of teachers.

Jefferson was not to live to see the realization of his great scheme for public education as a whole; but when in February, 1818, the General Assembly voted in favor of the establishment of a State university, he had succeeded in securing that part of it in which he was most deeply interested, and the one which he was best equipped to carry out by his own previous studies and observations. It was certainly the part that supplemented most fully the practical experiment in college building which, for sometime previous to 1818, had seized upon his whole attention, and absorbed all his physical and intellectual

¹ See an address by Dr. Richard McIlwaine, July 26, 1904.

powers. Before beginning the narrative of how Central College was converted into the university which the General Assembly, in 1818, ordered to be established, it will be necessary to turn back and follow up the noble record that he had already made as the father of the promising institution of learning which he had founded in the shadow of his own home at Monticello. It will be seen that he had not been satisfied to wait for the consummation of his plans through legislative assistance, but, in his leisure, taking hold of that section of them which he was able to inaugurate himself, he had done so with a clearness, persistence, and firmness of purpose, a concentration of energy and a constancy of supervision, in spite of his advanced years, which constitutes the most astonishing chapter even in his own illustrious life.

SECOND PERIOD

GERMINATION — ACADEMY AND COLLEGE

I. *Jefferson's Preference for University Site*

We have seen that, until the outset of his mission to France, at least, Jefferson persisted in hoping that the College of William and Mary could be lifted up to the level of a real university, both in its standards of instruction and in the number of its professorships; and that down to this point in time, he used every means in his power to bring about the transformation. The change in its curriculum which he had suggested, was certainly a long step towards the desired conversion; but the upshot, as the years passed, was disappointing in spite of the fact that the college was in the enjoyment of the subtle advantage which springs only from age, and was also, in the beginning, situated at the very centre of the political and social framework of the Commonwealth. The enlargement of its field of studies failed to secure for it that popularity with the members of all social classes and all religious denominations, with which alone it could win the highest prosperity.

When did Jefferson abandon the expectation that it would become a university to the extent that alone would satisfy his exacting requirements? When did the thought that he might be able to found an entirely new university, in the neighborhood of Monticello, invade his mind? Now, as has been pointed out, he had, from early manhood, felt a keen aversion to sectarianism in all its

shapes and voices. He was, of his own personal knowledge, aware that the College of William and Mary had been, and probably still was, as saturated with the vapours of Episcopalianism as Oxford itself. No influences but his shrewd recognition of the sentimental value of age in a seat of learning, the prestige of its situation at first in the capital, and that affection for his alma mater which still tarried in his breast, had, perhaps, impelled him, even in the beginning, to plan for its elevation to so high a point that it would satisfy the educational wants of the whole State. But all these influences, powerful as they once were, in making his attitude towards the ancient college so favorable and so sanguine, must have gradually weakened and fallen away as he perceived, with ever increasing clearness, that popularity with the old dissenting sects was not likely to be won even by the proposed broadening of its curriculum; and that the mere suppression of the theological school would not suffice in itself to blot out the historic sense of the unquestionable, though, perhaps, exaggerated, wrongs which those sects had suffered in the past, through the workings of the Episcopalian system. In his own heart, he probably sympathized with their lingering animosity, although he may have thought that they were hardly justified by common patriotism in letting that feeling deprive the new university of their support, without which it could not hope to represent the whole community in its attendance of students.¹

¹ Cabell, writing to Cocke, Nov. 21, 1821, said, "The decline of William and Mary a few years previous to this was attributed partly to its irreligious character; and to meet this, the Bishop was put on its Board of Visitors, and an Episcopalian clergyman elected professor." And Jefferson writing to Cabell, Feb. 20, 1821, said, "I sometime ago put in your hands a pamphlet proving indirectly that the College of William and Mary was intended to be a seminary of the Church of England. When I was a Visitor in 1779 . . . we did not change the statutes

So deep was the impression made on him by this hostility, coupled with his own wide and discriminating observations abroad, that, after his return from France, he seems never to have seriously considered the College of William and Mary in his plans for the establishment of a great State institution. If that institution was not to be the old college, still further remodeled and enlarged, and with its seat unremoved from the ancient town of Williamsburg, where was it to be placed? What other locality was to become its site? Apparently, there was never in his mind but one reply to this question: in the vicinity of Charlottesville. If he was mortal enough to be influenced by personal reasons in his selection of that site, it was a form of selfishness that was fully redeemed by the nobility of his aims. If there was one citizen of the State, during those years when he was so persistently nursing this "bantling," as he termed it, who was fully equipped by broad philanthropy, liberal opinions, unflinching love of knowledge, and an eager interest in education, clarified by study and observation, to set up a true university for his countrymen, that man was Thomas Jefferson. The most signal stroke of good fortune for this offspring of his spirit, throughout the first century of its existence, was this: that its site was chosen so close to his home at Monticello that he was able to impress upon its structure, whether physical, moral, or scholastic, the full force of his principles and his tastes. While it may be acknowledged that it might, at a distance from him, have caught his lofty tenets of political freedom and religious tolerance, and his devotion to science in all its departments, there is no likelihood whatever

(relating to the church) nor do I know that they have been since changed. On the contrary, the pamphlet I put in your hand proves that, if they have relaxed in the fundamental object, they mean to return to it."

that, without his dominating personality and his indefatigable supervision, it would have presented to the eye to-day perhaps the most beautiful group of college buildings, the noblest academical setting, to be discovered on the American Continent.

La Rochefoucauld, who was travelling in the United States during the years from 1795 to 1797 inclusive, and visited Monticello in the course of his tour, has recorded the fact that there was then a rumor in circulation that the General Assembly would soon establish a "new college in a more central part of the State." It was at this time that the bill of 1796, which, as already shown, only nominally assured a moderate degree of public instruction, was a subject of general conversation and debate. Before two years had passed, the groundlessness of this report had been proven; but Jefferson, in writing to Dr. Priestley, expressed the hope that a new university, planned on a "broad, liberal, and modern" scale, would be erected "in the upper country, and, therefore, more centrally for the State." He does not mince his words in giving his reasons for wishing to turn his back on the college in Williamsburg. "She is just well endowed enough," he remarked to the same correspondent, "to draw out the miserable existence to which a miserable constitution has doomed her." He then repeats the practical objection which was coming to have an ever-increasing influence with him in his view of its site. "It is, moreover, eccentric in its position, and exposed to all the bilious diseases, as all the lower country is, and, therefore, abandoned by the public care, as that part of the country is, to a considerable degree, by its inhabitants."¹

¹ Writing in 1788 Jefferson used the following words: "Williamsburg is a remarkably healthy situation." This sentence is quoted by Dr. Tyler in his *History of Williamsburg*.

A few years afterwards, Jefferson, now President of the United States, had an opportunity to express indirectly an equally emphatic opinion in opposition to all further efforts to develop the old college in preference to founding a new university elsewhere. Joseph C. Cabell, who was to be so honorably associated with him at a later period in the establishment of such an institution, had returned from Europe in May, 1806, after a tour of the principal European countries, and having married Miss Carter, a step-daughter of Judge St. George Tucker, the first of that distinguished family to settle in Virginia, had decided to make Williamsburg, where his wife had resided, his permanent home. He was an alumnus of the College, and through this connection and those domestic bonds, soon became a warm partisan of a scheme having its origin with De la Costa, a foreign savant, to erect a museum of natural history in the former capital, and to attach it to the professorship there which embraced the various departments of that subject. The cost of building and collecting was to be defrayed by private subscription.

Isaac A. Coles, of Albemarle, Cabell's intimate friend, was, at this time, Jefferson's private secretary, and in that capacity stationed in Washington. Cabell was but a recent acquaintance of the President, and he, doubtless, for that reason hesitated to approach him by direct correspondence, although aware of Jefferson's interest in science. Possibly, too, he may have had some reason for questioning the President's fidelity to his alma mater, for reports of his views as to the need of a new seat of learning, to be founded in a more central situation, must have come to his ears. Cabell wrote to Coles instead. The letter itself was, perhaps, not shown to Jefferson, but the subject of it was, by Coles's admission in his reply,

discussed between them. The President thought "the attempt premature," by which cryptic expression he probably meant that the museum should be reserved for the institution which was yet to be established elsewhere. He returned the same reply to De la Costa, when his assistance was sought directly at a somewhat later date. In the meanwhile, Coles had fully stated Jefferson's present mental attitude towards the venerable college and the hoped-for new university. "If I could bring myself," he wrote to Cabell, "to consider Williamsburg as the permanent seat of science, as the spot where the youth of our State, for centuries to come, would go to be instructed in whatever might form them for usefulness, my objection would, in great measure, cease. But the old college is declining, and perhaps the sooner it falls entirely, the better, if it might be the means of pointing out to our legislative body the necessity of founding an institution on an extended and liberal scale. Instead of wasting your time in attempting to patch it up, a decaying institution, direct your efforts to a higher and more valuable object: found a new one."

Cabell, who had not yet been weaned from his alma mater by close confidential intercourse with Jefferson, was palpably nettled by the tone, and by the suggestions, of his friend's letter. "If the great new university of which you speak," he wrote in reply, "were in existence, or could be expected to appear within the space of a few years, then it would be prudent to defer the intended museum and to connect the two objects. But knowing as you do, the spirit of our Legislature, can you calculate anything of the kind from them? I doubt very much whether we do not evince more prudence in patching up what we have than in reposing in indolence under the expectation of what may never come. . . . We ought to

make the most of it, as it is all we have, indulging at the same time the hope that the Legislature will either remove it to Richmond, or found a new one in the upper country." ¹

One would hardly recognize in these partial and loyal words, the presence of the man who was to be, after Jefferson himself, the most influential instrument in the establishment of the university at Charlottesville, which was comparatively to throw the College of William and Mary into the academic shade. They show, however, that he would not be averse to the erection of that university in another part of the State, should the sentiment of the General Assembly declare in favor of it. So soon as he should directly pass under the spell of Jefferson's personality, and catch the full inspiration of his devotion to his great scheme, Cabell was to become as earnest a supporter of all his plans for his projected seat of learning as Coles himself.

A few years after the date of these letters passing between the two friends, Jefferson committed himself definitely, over his own signature, to Charlottesville as the site of the institution which he had so long carried in his mind. Hitherto, in his correspondence at least, he seems to have referred with politic vagueness to a site "in a healthier and more central part of the State." But, in 1814, he mentions specifically his own vicinage as the spot which might be chosen. "I have long had under contemplation, and been collecting materials for a plan of the University of Virginia," he wrote to Dr. Cooper, "which should comprehend all the sciences useful to us, and none others. . . . This would probably absorb the functions of William and Mary College, and transfer them to a healthier position; perhaps to the neighborhood

¹ This letter will be found among the Cabell Papers, University Library.

of this place. The long and lingering decline of William and Mary, the death of the last President (Bishop Madison), its location and climate, force on us the wish for a new institution more convenient to our country generally, and better adapted to the present state of science." When these words were written, Jefferson, unknown to himself, was within a few months of the practical inauguration of a scheme, started by others, but soon adopted by himself, which was destined to expand, in a comparatively short time, into the very institution which he had been pondering over for so many years. Before taking up the narrative of the very small acorn which was to grow into so great a tree, it will be germane to our subject, and conducive to a clearer understanding of it, should we give a short description of the immediate country in which the proposed university was now so soon to be planted, a summary history of its settlement, and a concise recital of the social influences which had governed it down to the establishment of that seat of learning.

II. *History of the University Region*

The whole region that formed the background of Charlottesville, from whatever point of the compass it might be viewed, differed altogether from the environment of the College of William and Mary.¹ Around Williamsburg, one saw an almost perfectly level country overgrown with a forest of varied species, broken in many places by farms under cultivation or by abandoned fields, and here and there deeply penetrated by winding creeks that ran up into the land from the broad waters of the York and James Rivers. The population that oc-

¹ I was especially indebted, in the preparation of this chapter, to Rev. Edgar Woods's excellent *History of Albemarle County*, a work that possesses, in many details, the value of an original document.

cupied this region were descended from settlers who had taken possession of it early in the seventeenth century, while Williamsburg itself was the oldest town of historic importance in the State, the former seat of government and of colonial fashion, and retaining, even in its decay, the glow of the culture and refinement which had distinguished it from the beginning.

Unlike this old city, standing upon the wide, wooded coastal plain, Charlottesville was placed in a deep valley spreading from the rampart of the Southwest Mountains, on one side, to the chain of the Blue Ridge, on the other. Towards the south, and not far off, rose the repulsive wall of the Ragged Mountains, while towards the north, the land rolled away as far as the eye could reach. The entire surface of the country, thus pent in on all sides but one, was broken up picturesquely by long, high-shouldered hills, isolated mounts, uneven plateaus, and deep, narrow rocky gorges. Everywhere, it was liberally watered by the romantic Rivanna and its brawling tributary streams, flowing down between ridges that disputed the way so successfully that the channels were forced to follow abrupt and winding courses. The broad scene taken in from some moderate height, that commanded the whole without blending the details, was not surpassed in Virginia for diversified beauty as the seasons, in procession, laid a green or russet or white finger on the face of the landscape below. There, on the western skirts of the valley rose the Blue Mountains, as changeful in color as the mountains of Greece; now as deeply azure as the Bay of Naples itself; now so faint and ethereal in hue as to be almost invisible; now as gray and massive as a cliff of the purest granite; now bare and bleak at the side and crowned with fields of shining snow at the top. In the interval, lay the floor of the valley itself, with a few

country residences and farm-houses scattered about it here and there, and open fields in fallow or in wheat, and pleasant groves of *primaeval* trees. There, in the shadow of the Southwest Mountains at sunrise and of the Ragged Mountains at sunset, stood the little hamlet of Charlottesville; and not far off flowed the Rivanna, showing a narrow turbid glimpse of its surface as it turned to pass onward to the James.

To the spectator, thus gazing around from one point of the compass to the other, the rim of the sky appeared to rest upon the massive shoulders of mountain caryatides, with the vast field of the sky itself open to full view as the troops of clouds glided across it, or the storms brewed in its depths, or the last rays of the dying sun flooded it with color. Sky and mountain and plain,—all offered themselves to the eye in stupendous shapes, and only the presence of a large sheet of water was wanting to make a scene upon which nature had bestowed every beautiful and impressive feature in her gift.

Behind this physical charm, that appealed to the eye, there lurked the suggestion of what man had done for the scene that appealed even more romantically to the historic sense. The University of Virginia was incorporated in 1819, and its classical group of buildings, that carry the mind back to the remote age of Greece and Rome, was not finished in 1825, when its doors were opened. Ninety years before the cornerstone of the first pavilion was laid, and less than one hundred before the Rotunda was completed, the region now embraced in Albemarle county was a *primaeval* wilderness, unoccupied and unclaimed by a single white settler whose name has survived. The first patents to any parts of its virgin soil were acquired in June, 1727. Only two were issued during that year, and they were confined to the area of

ground lying on the eastern slopes of the Southwest Mountains. Slowly, yard by yard, as it were, in the course of many years, the settlements had been creeping up the headwaters of the Pamunkey towards the northwest, and the main stream of the James towards the west. The third patent, obtained a few years later, embraced land along the banks of the latter river. It was not until 1730 apparently that any part of the soil adjacent to the Rivanna was appropriated. Only five patents were sued out in 1730, and only three in the following year. It was not until 1732 that the western base of the Southwest Mountains was arrived at: the land that afterwards formed the site of the little town of Milton,—which became the port of entry for much of the material used in the original construction of the University,—was taken up during this year. This was the nearest point to the present town of Charlottesville so far reached by the settler. Among the four patents granted in 1733, one was obtained that spread from the mouth of Moore's Creek to a boundary line running beyond the modern estate of Pen Park, the birthplace of Francis Walker Gilmer, Jefferson's staunch coadjutor in the next century. By 1734, the plateau of Pantops and Lego, overlooking the valley of the Rivanna and visible from the present Observatory Mountain, had been occupied by patentees; and before the close of the year, Lewis Mountain, and the land situated immediately towards the west, had been acquired by Joseph Terrell and David Lewis.

Down to 1734, the patentees had, with barely an exception, been prominent men residing in Eastern Virginia, who were influenced alone by the prospect of speculative profit in engrossing such large areas of unappropriated soil, and who made no actual settlement beyond the small degree required by law. This was complied with by

placing on the lands a few tenants or slaves, who were not expected to snatch more than their own support out of the new ground. Enterprising and independent yeomen began to come in, in 1734, and now the real social and economic development of the region took a start in earnest. The swollen patent, however, continued to be sued out by prominent gentlemen in Eastern Virginia, only a very small proportion of whose number had any intention of removing their homes to these back lands: in 1735, for instance, the father of Patrick Henry was a patentee; and in the same year, William Randolph acquired the tract which included the modern estates of Shadwell and Edgehill; Peter Jefferson, father of Thomas, a tract of one thousand acres on the southern bank of the Rivanna; and Abraham Lewis, the tract which takes in the present site of the University.

Not until this year, did the engrossment of the soil spread out as far as Buck Mountain Creek, which flows into the Rivanna in the northwestern part of the present county, and Ivy Creek which waters the middle portion. Patents were now obtained to the lands lying around Farmington and Ivy station. By 1737, the banks of Mechums River had been reached. The area of ground thus taken up, however, was not in the way of a solid extension of boundaries; as we have seen, the site of the University was not patented until after the present Birdwood estate had been appropriated; and in harmony with the same fact, it was not until 1737 that William Taylor obtained, by patent, title to the lands situated on Moore's Creek which are supposed to have contained the present site of the town of Charlottesville. By this time, nearly every division of the county had been patented in a very dispersed manner,—to be extended gradually to those intervening spaces which remained vacant because

holding out so much smaller inducements for preoccupation. As late as 1796, a patent was granted for twenty-five thousand acres of land in Albemarle that was still in the possession of the State.

How little perceptible change had been worked in the face of the county by 1737 is revealed in the situation of Peter Jefferson, who removed to his estate on the Rivanna in the course of that year: the entire region about him is described as having been, at the time, a slumbering, savage wilderness; nor did any substantial transformation in its character take place before 1743, the year of Thomas Jefferson's birth. If one had walked up from Shadwell, during that year, to the top of a neighboring height which commanded a view of the landscape as far as the peaks of the Blue Ridge, he would have had unrolled below him a region almost as untouched by the white man, and quite as unmoulded to the permanent uses of civilization, as it had been one hundred years before, when it was only trodden by the feet of warring or hunting Indians. How completely it was in the possession of wild animals at the time of the first settlement is apparent in the names which the pioneers bestowed on the natural features of the valley. Many varieties of the fourlegged denizens of the original forests are represented in these names. So numerous were deer that it is recorded of one of the earliest settlers on the eastern slope of the great Ridge that he had only to step across the threshold of his cabin in the morning to obtain with his rifle all the venison that would be needed for his food; and that there was no exaggeration in this statement is proven by the frequency with which Buck mountains and Buck creeks are entered on the face of the first maps; and equally indicative of the like condition is the number of Elk runs, Beaver and Bear creeks, Buffalo meadows

and mountains, within the same area of country. One of the modern roads that crosses the Ridge followed, when first laid down, a trail which herds of bison had been tramping over during uncounted centuries. As late as 1896, there were domiciled in Albemarle persons who had conversed with a man whose father had watched a long string of these animals wading the Roanoke River at a ford situated less than two hundred miles from the site of the University.¹ The Pigeon Tops of the present day point to the haunts where the wild pigeons gathered in flocks of hundreds of thousands, either to roost or to feed on the acorns that had dropped to the ground in the autumnal woods on the mountain sides.

There is no surviving proof of the existence of Indian wigwams in Albemarle when the first settlement began, but during Jefferson's boyhood, small bands of warriors would sometimes pass through, and, in one instance at least, revisited a mound standing on the banks of the Rivanna, where their dead had been formerly buried. A deed recorded in 1751, refers, in the definition of boundary lines, to a spot where a pioneer had been scalped by a lurking brave. It was not until 1744, seventy-five years before the University was chartered, that the county had filled up with people enough to justify the General Assembly in organizing a court within its borders; it was not until 1762 that Charlottesville,— named for the queen of the monarch whom Jefferson was to arraign in the Declaration of Independence,— was incorporated; and down to 1820, it continued to be the only post-office in all that region. In 1745, the number of inhabitants within the boundaries of Albemarle was thought to be about 4,250; by 1790, that number, as

¹ So stated by Dr. G. B. Goode, in an address before the United States Geographical Society, delivered at Monticello, in 1896.

counted in the first census, had swelled to 12,585; by 1810, to 18,268; and by 1820, when the University was building, to 32,618.

III. *Early Social Life*

The social and economic history of the first settlement of Albemarle county was an exact continuation of that transit of population and civilization in Virginia which had been noted from the foundation of Jamestown. Not only was this original movement westward to the mountains more halting, but it was less crude in spirit than the flood which, in our own times, has carried the American frontier across an entire continent. It was not a migration of petty farmers and rough adventurers of all sorts. Among the names of the early patentees of Albemarle, we find numerous representatives of the oldest and most influential families in the Colony: Carters, Randolphs, Lewises, Nicholases, Meriwethers, Walkers, Henrys, Carrs, Hopkinses, Terrells, Eppeses, and others of the like social eminence. While spacious areas of ground were, at first, taken up by these families with a nominal residence only, as we have seen, nevertheless it was not many years before their younger scions began to lay the corner-stones of their homes in this forest wilderness. At no stage of its growth was it a scattered community of wild hunters and trappers alone; on the contrary, from the second decade at least, it was a community whose principal citizens had brought up from Eastern Virginia all the subservience to law, refinement of manners, and high civic spirit, that had distinguished the plantation homes in the older shires during many generations. The Meriwethers and Lewises, and the long stream of gentle families who followed them, had pos-

sessed, from their first settlement in Virginia, all the social advantages which the Colony had to bestow; and when they made their way up from the open country, through the dark woods, and built their houses along the slopes of the Southwest Mountains, and in the eastern shadow of the Blue Ridge, they simply transferred to those green and quiet sites all the points of view, all the moral convictions, all the domestic habits, all the personal demeanor, which had given such a distinct flavor to the social life on the banks of the tidal rivers below. So soon as the children of these first settlers had arrived at maturity, and inherited the parental estates, there was no substantial difference to be discerned between the homes in which they dwelt and the original homes of their fathers still standing in the counties lying towards the sea.

It would hardly be correct to accept Thomas Jefferson as an average representative of this second generation born in the valley of the Rivanna, for he stood high above the multitude of his fellow Americans even in the oldest communities; but in mere social culture and domestic refinement, apart from native talents and acquired knowledge, he was not one whit superior to the representatives of those families who had patented the virgin lands contemporaneously with his father.

If any one now living could have taken his stand on the portico of Monticello, in 1825, on the day that the University threw open its doors to students, and gazed down upon the broad map of the country below towards the west, south, north, and northeast, his eyes would have caught sight of many residences that were already celebrated in the social history of the State, not only for the culture and refinement of their atmosphere, but for the high distinction of many of the citizens who owned them. First, would be discerned, on the banks of the Rivanna,

the site of Shadwell, the birthplace of Jefferson himself, now marked by a group of sycamores, as the original house had been consumed by fire. Beyond, on a height that suggested its name, would be visible the walls of Pantops erected in 1815, and occupied by James Leitch, who married the granddaughter of Nicholas Lewis, one of the original settlers. Close by was Lego, the home of a second Lewis, whose wife was the daughter of the explorer, Dr. Thomas Walker. Not far towards the northeast stood Edgehill, the home of the Randolphs, who had so named it in honor of the battle in which their cavalier ancestor had fought so bravely yet so unavailingly. Beyond Edgehill was to be seen Belmont, the home of Dr. Charles Everett, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and the private secretary of President Monroe; next, Cismont and Cloverfields, with the graveyard in which the older members of the Meriwether family were buried; Belvoir, the home of the Nelsons, who had acquired it by a fortunate marriage; Castle Hill, the home of the Walkers, and afterwards of the Riveses, through a similar intermarriage; and Keswick, the home of the Pages.

Looking in turn towards the west, north and south, there rose, within the scope of the eye, the homes of the Monroes, the Maurys, the Gilmers, the Coleses, the Nicholases, the Barbours, the Madisons, the Lewises, the Woodses, the Minors, the Terrells, the Carrs, and numerous other families identified with that region, in most instances, from the earliest years of the community. Either then, or a short time after the University was founded, there resided in houses in sight from the same eminence, Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and third President of the United States; James Madison, the Father of the Constitution

and fourth President; James Monroe, the fifth President and author of the celebrated Doctrine which bears his name; Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Minister to the Court of St. James; Thomas Walker Gilmer, Governor of the State and Secretary of the Navy; Edward Coles, Governor of Illinois; William C. Nicholas, Governor of Virginia and United States Senator; Thomas Mann Randolph, member of Congress and Governor of Virginia; James Barbour, Governor of the State, United States Senator, and Minister to Great Britain; Philip P. Barbour, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Justice of the Supreme Court; George Rogers Clark, the conqueror of the Northwest Territory; Meriwether Lewis, the explorer of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers; William C. Rives, United States Senator and twice Minister to the Court of Versailles; Hugh Nelson, member of Congress and Minister to Spain; William Short, Minister to the Hague; and William F. Gordon, member of Congress and author of the sub-treasury scheme. In this list of distinguished citizens, there are to be found three Presidents of the United States, seven Governors of Commonwealths, seven envoys to foreign countries, two Speakers of the Lower House of Congress, one Justice of the Supreme Court, one Secretary of the Navy, two Secretaries of State, one Secretary of War, three United States Senators, one noted soldier, and an equally noted explorer. In no commensurate area of the Republic, at that time, could there have been described so many men, either already celebrated, or destined, within a few years, to win fame in political life. A region of country that had been occupied only one hundred years surpassed the oldest parts of Virginia and the other States alike, in the ac-

knowledgeed eminence of its principal residents, on account of their splendid public services.

The social life of the county was, at all seasons, enlivened by constant personal intercourse between neighbors, and at times by a succession of gaieties. Isaac Coles, writing to Cabell from his home in Albemarle, in 1811, mentions that his hours were mainly "given up to visits, Christmas dinners and Christmas balls!" Judge Dabney Carr, describing a recent sojourn in the county in 1821, remarks, by way of apology for failing to reply to Cabell, "I was in such a constant round of company, dining to-day here, and to-morrow there, that I could not find a moment for a letter." "From a long and intimate knowledge of Albemarle county," Gilmer wrote to George Long, in 1824, "I assure you, I know no place in America where there is a more liberal, intelligent, hospitable, and agreeable society, nor where respectable strangers could receive a kinder welcome." Jefferson, who had passed so much of his life in the most polished coteries of the Old and the New World, held a similar view: "The society in Albemarle," he stated to a European correspondent in March, 1815, "is much better than is common in country situations. Perhaps, there is not a better country society in the United States. But do not imagine this a Parisian or an academical society. It consists of plain, honest, and rational neighbors,—some of them well informed, and men of reading, all superintending their farms, hospitable and friendly, and speaking nothing but English."

Charlottesville, situated on a gentle eminence that sloped to the Rivanna, was a small collection of houses built around the court-house square. It hardly possessed the consequence of a village from the point of view of

population alone, but as the seat of justice, the site of several general stores and the foremost lawyers' offices, and the scene of popular assemblages when the court was in session, or a political rally was holding, it formed the central point in the civic life of the community. Apart from the court-house itself, the two principal houses in the little town were the Swann and the Old Stone taverns. It was here that the promiscuous concourse of citizens dined on court days; it was here that travellers, passing through to the Valley or the West, stopped to bait their horses or to spend a night; and it was here also that the rather liberal taste for strong waters prevailing in those times could always find indulgence. The lawyers probably met some of their clients here; and here certainly many important conferences of all kinds were held. The most animated spot within the limits of the village outside of the court-house square itself was, on court days at least, the porch of the Old Stone tavern, for this ordinary was kept by one of the most popular citizens of the county, Triplett Estes, the condition of whose affairs, as we shall soon see, threatened, at one time, to have some connection with the origin of the University of Virginia.

Albemarle county, before the Revolution, was divided between Fredericksville and St. Anne's parishes; and of the two, Fredericksville, which had been extended from Louisa county, was laid off first. St. Anne's was formed in 1762 by drawing its eastern boundary line along the Rivanna to a point opposite Charlottesville; and thence the line ran through the town westward to the Blue Ridge. The parish itself was situated south of this line. The history of these parishes is pertinent to our subject, for the clergymen who filled their pulpits were, in several instances, well known teachers before and after the Revolution, and the sales of the glebes, when the

Church was disestablished, created an important fund for the promotion of public education. The glebe of Fredericksville, which seems to have embraced four hundred acres, was purchased for four hundred pounds in colonial currency. On the other hand, the glebe of St. Anne's, which lay not far from the Green Mountains, was, perhaps, not so extensive or so profitable.

IV. *Origin of Albemarle Academy*

The most famous school situated nearest to Charlottesville previous to the Revolution was the one conducted by the Rev. James Maury, who had been the rector of Fredericksville parish at the time that it took in also the county of Louisa. Dying in 1770, he was succeeded by his son, Matthew Maury, as the clergyman of Trinity parish,—the new parish created in the first division of Fredericksville,—and as the headmaster of his school. It was here that Jefferson received his earliest tuition after leaving home. This school enjoyed a high reputation for thoroughness many years before Albemarle Academy was incorporated, and was, no doubt, patronized, before and after the Revolution, by many families in Albemarle county, although more or less inconvenient to them on account of its remoteness. Another clergyman, Rev. Samuel Black, had established a school near the foot of the Blue Ridge; and about 1760, James Forbes was teaching in the neighborhood of Ivy.

But the need of a school in the immediate vicinity of Charlottesville became so pressing by 1783, that the first practical step was taken to establish an academy there. There is no evidence that Jefferson suggested this project, but there is proof that he felt so deep an interest in it that he exacted of a friend in the county

the promise that he should be informed of its prospects of success during his own absence in Annapolis; and he also assured his neighbors of his willingness to give personal aid by endeavoring to procure a tutor during his travels in the North; and this promise he faithfully kept, for while stopping in Princeton, he sought the advice of Dr. Witherspoon, President of Princeton College; but no tutor could be obtained there, as that institution had not yet recovered from the confusion caused by the war. In Philadelphia, a short time later, he renewed his search by inquiring for an Irish instructor; but he was told that the state of learning in Ireland was so low that few natives of that country had sufficient accomplishments for such employment; or if they should have, desired to secure it. Jefferson, in his perplexity, now thought of a Scotch tutor; but before resuming the hunt, he wrote back to his correspondent in Albemarle that he would not go on until he had heard that the plans for the academy were fixed upon so firm a basis that he would be justified in empowering some person in Scotland to engage there a competent teacher. "It was from that country," he said, "that a sober, attentive man would be most certainly obtained." He was so soon called away by his mission to France that he does not appear to have had a chance for forwarding the design by further personal cooperation; and afterwards, down to 1809, was so constantly absent from home, owing to his official duties in Washington, that he had not leisure to consider it further in a practical way.

The purpose of establishing the school seems to have slumbered for many years, but, in 1803, or on some day just previous to it, the plan was revived, and so keen was the interest now aroused, that, in the course of that year, a charter was obtained and the school incorporated

as the Albemarle Academy. By this date, the population of the county had substantially increased, and the need of a good classical school must have been more urgent than it had been twenty years earlier, when the scheme was broached for the first time.

Did the new academy enter at once upon an existence more solid than that of an academy on parchment? Apparently, it did not. In 1802, an Act of the General Assembly laid down the manner in which the money accruing from the sale of the glebe lands in Fredericksville and St. Anne's parishes was to be secured for any permissible object: a majority of the freeholders and householders of the county had only to submit a petition to the overseers of the poor clearly defining their purpose. It is possible that this Act was passed at the instance of persons interested in the projected academy; but that the fund was not appropriated is demonstrated by the fact that, when, in 1814, the scheme was resuscitated by the surviving trustees under the old charter, one of the first steps taken was to apply to the General Assembly for the possession of this fund,—an indication that it had not yet been disposed of, for it would certainly have been used had the original design been carried out in 1803. About this time, there was a school at Milton on the Rivanna conducted by William Ogilvie, an excellent classical scholar of Scotch birth, who gave the earliest tuition to the sons of many conspicuous families of Albemarle and adjoining counties. In 1806, Professor Girardin determined to resign his chair in the College of William and Mary, and consulted Joseph C. Cabell, then in Williamsburg, as to the most promising site for founding a large school of his own. Cabell conferred with his brother, Judge William H. Cabell: "Shall we place Girardin in the academy at New Glasgow," he wrote, "or shall we

connect him with Ogilvie and establish them at Charlottesville? I wish to do the latter."¹ Now, it is quite improbable that Cabell, whose birthplace and original home was at Warminster, on the James River, not very many miles away, would have suggested Charlottesville as a suitable place of settlement for two distinguished teachers like Ogilvie and Girardin had he known that they would have to meet and overcome the rivalry of an academy already in operation, and backed by an influential board of trustees and a large circle of wealthy patrons.

Not until 1814 does the Albermarle Academy exhibit the feeblest sign of practical life. When the project was revived, only five of the first trustees, namely John Harris, John Nicholas, John Kelly, Peter Carr, and John Carr, took hold of it, for all the others had either died, resigned, or emigrated to the West. The vacancies in the list, the natural result of the lapse of a decade, had not been filled as they arose; and this would certainly have been done had the Academy, in reality, been under way, since, in that case, it would have called for and received the close supervision of a large and interested Board. The original members had fallen off, it would seem, because there were no duties to perform. Indeed, the Academy so far had been merely a name.

What was the motive at the bottom of the resuscitation of the charter? Quite probably the principal one now, as during many years past, was that there was an immediate need for the school; the subordinate one, perhaps, was the desire to bolster up financially Triplett Estes, the proprietor of the Old Stone tavern, the jovial friend of all those citizens of the county who had eaten of the dishes from his kitchen and drunk of the spirits

¹ Cabell Papers, University Library.

from his cellar. In a letter which George W. Randolph wrote to Dr. James L. Cabell, in 1856, when the Stone tavern was yet standing, he repeated the story of the tentative purchase which had been told to him by Alexander Garrett, one of the new trustees of the Academy after its revival in 1814, and one, therefore, conversant with all the details of this event at the time, though his memory may have been weakened subsequently by age. It was Mr. Garrett's impression, says Mr. Randolph, that "the owners of the present Monticello House,—with which the Stone tavern had been incorporated before 1856,—for the purpose of raising the value of their property, and partly, no doubt, from public spirit, undertook to establish an academy."¹ As the petition which certain citizens of Albemarle, at a later day, addressed to the General Assembly sought the right to collect funds by lottery to buy this house for the expressed purpose of profiting Triplett Estes, it seems unlikely, as Mr. Randolph reports, that any of the trustees had a personal interest in the property beyond a mortgage. On the contrary, the concern shown by Estes and his friends in the proposed sale would appear to demonstrate that he alone was to be the beneficiary. The building itself was ample security for any lien which may have rested on it.

As the scheme of the Academy had been under consideration during many years, and as the need for it was greater now than ever, the five surviving members of the old board probably saw in Estes's offer a very uncommon chance of securing the right kind of structure for the projected school in Charlottesville, where alone they perhaps thought it should be placed, and where alone an edifice large enough for its purpose was likely to be

¹ This letter will be found among the Cabell Papers, University Library.

found. If, in establishing the Academy, a popular citizen, who happened to have the property wanted, could also be assisted, the housing thus made attainable was not, on that account, rendered less desirable or less satisfactory to the trustees. Furthermore, those trustees were aware that it would be necessary to turn to a lottery to raise in part at least the fund which they would require. That lottery was certain to be looked upon with more favor in Albemarle and the adjacent counties if it were associated in the minds of the citizens in general with the expectation of succoring so worthy and so genial a boniface as Estes.

So far as can be discovered, Jefferson had no part of any kind in the consultations that led up to the first meeting of the five trustees on March 25, 1814. He went back to Monticello in 1809, and from that time became a permanent resident of the county. There was an interval of five years before the surviving members of the old board reassembled. Why had he manifested no interest in the charter of 1803, and, so far as we know, why was he not previously approached by the trustees with the view of enlisting his influential co-operation? Apparently, during these years, he made no suggestion with respect to the Academy; he gave no advice; nor did he take any step whatever, either alone or along with others, to revive the scheme. While his concern for the advancement of education was never more lively than during the immediate period that followed his return to his home, it is quite possible that his long absences from the county, and the dignity of the great offices he had filled, had produced a certain aloofness in his intercourse with his neighbors. There is little proof of any intimate association on his part with the community around him. He was not a public speaker, and so far as can be judged,

his attention was now absorbed by his correspondence, his agricultural experiments, his domestic circle, and his private visitors, who furnished him with the most cultivated and distinguished society. Had he been in close affiliation with the trustees of the Academy, either before or after he became a member of its board, it is not probable that, when the Academy was converted into Central College in 1816, he would have omitted the entire number from the governing body of the new institution, even if he were anxious to increase the influence of that body by placing on it only men known throughout Virginia.

Jefferson's participation in the memorable first meeting of the surviving trustees at the Stone tavern was wholly accidental and unexpected. It seems that, following his habit after one o'clock in the day, he had left Monticello for his afternoon ride, and had turned his horse's head in the direction of Charlottesville. As he passed through the village, he was seen from the Stone tavern by one of the trustees, who, aware of his interest in education, and justly thinking that his advice would be of substantial service, suggested that he should be asked to dismount, and take part in the discussion then going on in one of the rooms in the inn. He cheerfully complied with the invitation, got down from the saddle, and joined the circle within. He first counseled them to fill at once all the vacancies in the board; and this seems to have been promptly done. His own name was inserted at the head of the list, which ran as follows: Thomas Jefferson, Jonathan B. Carr, Robert B. Streshley, James Leitch, Edmund Anderson, Thomas Wells, Nicholas M. Lewis, Frank Carr, John Winn, Alexander Garrett, Dabney Minor, Samuel Carr, and Thomas Jameson. To this list should be added the names of the surviving members of the original board: John Harris, John Nicholas, John

Kelly, Peter Carr, and John Carr. Further additions to the number were made in the course of the ensuing twelve months.

What were the histories of the principal men who composed the reformed board? Without exception, they were drawn from the body of the substantial and responsible citizens of the county, those "plain, honest, rational, and well-informed neighbors" of Jefferson, to whom he referred in the letter, already quoted, written this very month of the same year. Frank Carr was, at one time or another, a physician, teacher, editor, and farmer, and in the latter character filled the useful office of secretary of the Albemarle Agricultural Society. He also sat on the bench of magistrates and served as sheriff. Edmund Anderson was a brother-in-law of Meriwether Lewis, the famous explorer of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. Nicholas M. Lewis was a great-grandson of Nicholas Meriwether, one of the earliest landowners in Albemarle. His father had been a distinguished officer in the War of the Revolution, surveyor, sheriff, and magistrate, and the adviser of the family at Monticello during Jefferson's numerous absences from his roof. John Winn had laid by a competence in mercantile pursuits in Charlottesville, and had afterwards purchased the valuable estate of Belmont, which he occupied as his home. Alexander Garrett, who was to become the bursar of the University, was, at one time, the deputy sheriff and deputy clerk of the county. Peter Carr was a member of the bar, and had formerly been associated with Jefferson as his private secretary. John Kelly, like John Winn, was a successful merchant, was very alert in the affairs of his church, and enjoyed such a high reputation for integrity and good sense that he was frequently appointed to act as the administrator of estates. John

Nicholas, who was sprung from one of the first settlers, was a grandson of Colonel Fry, who, with Peter Jefferson, drafted the celebrated map of Virginia that is designated by their names. He owned a large area of land in the neighborhood of the town, and for some years was the clerk of the county in succession to his father. James Leitch was, during a subsequent period, the proprietor of the Pantops estate. Dabney Minor was a member of a family that has always been actively and honorably identified with every interest of the county. Samuel Carr, whose pursuit was that of farmer, had sat on the magistrates' bench and served as colonel of cavalry in the War of 1812; and he also won political distinction as a delegate and senator in the General Assembly. John Carr was the first clerk of the circuit court of Albemarle, and was also the clerk of the district court of Charlottesville. Thomas Jameson, a descendant of one of the earliest patentees of the lands on Moorman's River, was a physician who practiced at the county seat and in its vicinage. Streshley, Wells, and Harris, the three remaining trustees, were all citizens of respectable position in the community, well fitted by character and intelligence for the performance of the highly responsible duties which they had undertaken.

Merchants, lawyers, physicians, farmers, clerks of court, magistrates, sheriffs, members of the General Assembly, either then or yet to be,—such were the men who sat on the board of trustees of Albemarle Academy. With a few exceptions, they were sprung from fathers or grandfathers who had come into the county with the first immigration, and all were bound to its soil by financial interests, ties of home and family, and the associations of a life-time with kinsmen and friends. At their head stood Jefferson, ready to give them the full

benefit of his long experience of men, and ripe wisdom in the management of the most intricate public affairs. There was not another among them who approached him in personal distinction, or in knowledge of educational principles; and all were willing to follow his serene and farsighted leadership, now so essential to the success of their plans.

v. Acts of Albemarle Academy Trustees

Adjourning on March 25, the trustees re-assembled on April 5. The principal business transacted on that day was the election of Peter Carr as President of the Board, and of Frank Carr as Secretary, and the appointment of a committee, with Jefferson as its chairman, to draw up a code of general regulations for the government of the Academy so soon as its doors should be thrown open to students. A motion to choose at once the site for its building was put off, in order, doubtless, to await the report of the committee now selected to suggest the means of obtaining the funds needed for the completion and maintenance of the projected institution. Adjourning over from April 15, because barely a majority of the trustees were present,—Jefferson himself being one of the absentees—they re-assembled on May 3. Again Jefferson did not attend; but as fifteen trustees answered to their names at roll-call, matters of the first importance were straightway called up for consideration and debate. The committee chosen to devise a plan for procuring money recommended that a lottery should be used for that purpose. The terms adopted for this lottery demonstrate the seductive manner in which it was to be employed: four thousand filled-in tickets were to be printed; and as each was to be sold for five dollars, it was expected

that, by this means, the sum of \$20,000 would be collected for distribution as prizes. The largest of these prizes was to amount to five thousand dollars; the next largest to two thousand; and the third, fourth, and fifth, to one thousand dollars each. The remaining ten thousand dollars was to be divided into smaller sums for prizes running all the way from one of five hundred dollars to one thousand of five dollars respectively. The profit was to be derived from twenty-six hundred and eighty-five blank tickets, to be disposed of at the same time as the prize tickets at five dollars a piece. The drawing was to take place in Charlottesville eighteen months after the sale of all the tickets had been completed; or if the trustees should so determine, at an earlier date.

The report of the committee on rules and regulations, which bore throughout the scholastic and administrative stamp of its chairman, Jefferson, stated that the Academy's aim would be to provide higher instruction for youths already thoroughly grounded in a course of reading, writing, and arithmetic. It was to consist of such studies, at first, as promised to be most useful; and as the income of the institution should grow in volume, the number of these studies was to be enlarged so as to embrace other and wider fields of knowledge. A committee of three was to be nominated yearly by the Board to keep every branch of the tuition under observation; to suggest what new departments should be added; to enforce discipline among the students; to regulate the expenses; and to overlook the entire domestic economy of the Academy. Thomas M. Randolph, Jefferson's son-in-law, was now a member of the Board, and he, Peter Carr, and Jefferson, the three most conspicuous and influential trustees, were selected as the committee to petition

the General Assembly for an appropriation, in support of the Academy, out of the money that had arisen from the sale of the glebe lands of St. Anne's and Fredericksville's parishes. By an act passed February 13, 1811, the county court of Albemarle had been authorized to appoint a commissioner to invest the funds accruing from this sale in the stock of the Bank of Virginia. It seems that only the interest, at this time at least, could be used for the establishment of a public school or schools in the county, in harmony with the provisions of the Act of 1796 for the education of the people. But before either principal or interest could be disposed of, the consent of the freeholders had to be obtained, as required by the Act of 1802, already referred to. It was important for the trustees of the Academy to secure this acquiescence beforehand, since it would fortify their petition for the entire sum when brought before the General Assembly. At this moment, the money was already in the custody of John Winn, a member of the Board, who had become the commissioner by order of the court; and it seems now to have only needed the approval of a majority of the voters, and the authorization of the Legislature, to assure the immediate diversion of the whole amount,—principal as well as interest,—to the use of the Academy.

On June 17, a committee, composed of John Winn, James Leitch, John Nicholas, Frank Carr, and Alexander Garrett, was named to decide upon the most suitable site for the institution. Should a new edifice be erected on the most commodious and economical plan, or should a house already in existence be chosen? The question before the committee really was: should the Stone tavern be purchased from Estes, or should they buy new ground in the neighborhood of Charlottesville where no building was already standing?

It is no cause for surprise to find that, when the trustees re-assembled on August 19, Jefferson was present for the first time since their second conference. The point coming up for determination was the one which interested him most. It is easy enough to comprehend that the mind which conceived the splendid group of University structures at a later date, shrank from the possibility of a rough tavern, of no architectural beauty whatever from cellar to garret, being accepted as the correct housing for the institution which he had already resolved to enlarge into a great seat of learning. Fortunately, he was not a common local politician, for had he been, he would have looked upon the good will of a popular innkeeper as important to the success of his political future, and, therefore, not to be jeopardized; nor were his social relations with that innkeeper such as to make him hesitate to derange his plans. Jefferson concentrated his gaze upon the paramount claims of his own great scheme; and he was too sagacious to yield one inch, even in the obscurity and uncertainty of its initiation. As he was on a footing of friendship with all the members of the building committee, it is reasonable to presume that he was consulted by them when they came to draft their report; unquestionably, its tenor was in harmony with his own wishes and convictions; and when it was handed in, he was in the room to support it with the weight of his influence with the board. The report took the ground that it was not advisable to purchase a building within the town, but that an unoccupied site, at least half a mile from its boundaries, should be bought. The Academy, however, in making this selection, was not to be compelled to pay a higher price than it would have been required to do had an improved and convenient situation in Charlottesville been preferred. As there were now no funds

in the board's possession, the committee recommended that the choice of the site should be put off until a definite offer could be submitted.

The expectation of obtaining funds was based on three petitions to be sent to the General Assembly: the first, for the appropriation of the money from the sale of the glebes, now in the custody of Commissioner Winn; the second, for a dividend accruing from the interest of the Literary Fund; and the third, for a lottery.

The first two of these petitions had already been drawn by Jefferson, Randolph, and Carr. The petition for the lottery was signed by one hundred and forty-seven citizens of Albemarle county, who did not disguise the fact, even in the document itself, that one of the purposes they had in view was to make certain the collection of funds sufficient for the purchase of the Old Stone tavern, in order to assist its genial proprietor financially. There was no word of disapproval by Jefferson of that petition on this account, although it is altogether probable that he had no patience with this particular side of it. With another of its clauses, however, he was warmly in sympathy; indeed, this section seems to have received its tone from his own exasperated and outspoken opinion of the impoverished means of acquiring a higher education in his native Commonwealth. "We have too long slept in unpardonable apathy," it ran, "over the crying and lamentable fact that, in the rich, populous, and liberal State of Virginia, there stands not one literary academy calculated to command the education of her youth. . . . We see our youth flying to foreign countries (Yale, Princeton and other Northern colleges) to obtain that of which they are deprived at home: a liberal education. We behold them asking of foreigners (the North) what their fathers refuse them. It is calculated, in an alarm-

ing degree, to alienate the young from the spot of their nativity, to instil into their young, open, and unsuspecting minds, opinions and sentiments inimical to the interest and happiness of their parent country (Virginia), for we see that they have too frequently returned back into the bosom of that country with a respect and affection for everything abroad, the effect of which is a contempt and disrespect for everything at home.”¹

These words have the characteristic ring and flavour of Jefferson in writing about Northern institutions of learning at that time, or in commenting upon the supposed monarchical designs of the Federalist leaders.

After the meeting of the Board on August 19, his interest in the plans for the Academy grew rapidly warmer and far more personal. On September 7, nineteen days subsequently, he penned the famous letter to Peter Carr, the president of the board of trustees, from which quotations have already been made, as offering the most precise and voluminous statement by himself of his views on education. That letter demonstrates in the clearest manner that his mind was now deeply engaged with the thought of converting the projected academy into the university which he had so long been contemplating. “What are the objects of our institution?” he asks. “Let us take a survey of the general field of science,” he replies to his own question, “and mark out the field we mean to occupy at first, and the alternate extension of our views beyond that, should we be able to render it as comprehensive as we would wish. . . . We must select the materials from the different institutions of others which are good for us, and with them erect a structure whose arrangement shall correspond with our own con-

¹ This document is preserved, in the form of a copy, among the Cabell Papers, University Library.

ditions, and admit of enlargement. With the first (primary) grade of education, we shall have nothing to do. The sciences of the second grade are our first object: (1) languages, including history; (2) mathematics, including chemistry, zoology, botany, mineralogy, anatomy, and the theory of medicine; and (3) philosophy. To adapt them to our slender beginnings, we must separate them into groups comprehending many sciences each, and greatly more in the first instance than ought to be imposed on, or can be completely conducted by, a single professor permanently. They must be subdivided from time to time as our means increase, until each professor shall have no more under his care than he can attend to with advantage to the students and ease to himself. In the further advance of our resources, professional schools must be introduced and professorships established in them also."

Jefferson asserts, in the same remarkable letter, that he had "lost no occasion to make himself acquainted with the best seminaries in other countries, and with the opinions of the most enlightened individuals on the subject of the sciences worthy to be taught in the new institution." So keen was the interest which he now felt in its expected evolution into a great seat of learning, that, for the first time, he began to regard with just apprehension the possible dissipation of the moneys, derived from the sale of the glebes, that had been deposited in the several State banks. Were such banks safe places of custody? "Perhaps, the loss of these funds," he wrote Cabell, only three weeks after the date of the letter to Carr, "would be the most lasting of the evils proceeding from the insolvency of those banks." There is a suggestion of pathos in this solicitude about a sum so small and so inadequate for the development of the noble

scheme which he had in mind; but he was clearly aware of the opposition which he would have to overcome before he could hope to obtain even a meagre legislative appropriation; and he was, therefore, the more earnestly disposed to husband the few petty resources for public education which he knew could not be disputed or withheld. In the prosecution of his plans, he seems to have gone so far as to submit to the trustees of the Academy a sketch for the building of a separate pavilion for each separate school, with the entire number grouped along three lines of a square, and in each a spacious lecture-hall and two apartments for the use of the professor who would occupy it.¹ This is an additional proof of how little he was thinking of the small local academy, and how much of the university which he intended to take its place. The Academy, indeed, was a mere figure of straw in his scheme, to exist only for such time as would be required to procure the charter of the College, which was to forerun the University somewhat as the Academy was to forerun the College.

VI. *The Academy Converted into a College*

Did the papers sent to David Watson, the delegate from Louisa, by Peter Carr, as president of the board of trustees, to be submitted to the General Assembly at the session of 1814-15, contain a petition for the conversion of the Academy into Central College? At this time, Charles Yancey and Thomas Wood represented the county of Albemarle in the Lower House, and Joseph

¹ "A plan for the institution," he wrote Cabell in January, 1816, "was the only thing the trustees asked or expected of me." Jefferson when he used these words was evidently referring to the beginning of his association with the Academy scheme. His later activities in connection with that scheme were unremitting.

C. Cabell in the Senate. Why was it that David Watson, the delegate of a neighboring county, was preferred for an important service that did not concern directly his own constituents? He was probably a friend of Carr's, and perhaps more influential than the Albemarle delegates; but to pass the latter by was a slur upon them which the future interest of the new seat of learning apparently did not justify. Why were not the papers enclosed first to Cabell, the senator for that district? Possibly because Cabell, having married and resided in Williamsburg, was supposed to be a staunch friend of the College of William and Mary, the prospects of which were certain to be damaged by the establishment of a college in Albemarle. In spite of this fact, it is probable that, had Jefferson been consulted, he would have recommended Cabell as the principal steersman, for Cabell also represented the district, and although, at that time, not intimately known to him, was sufficiently known to raise a high opinion of his talents in Jefferson's mind.

An unnecessary delay would have been avoided had Carr enclosed the papers to Cabell, for, during the whole session of 1814-15, Watson held them back without giving any explanation of his dilatoriness. Jefferson wrote to Cabell on January 5 (1815) that the petition had not been presented to the General Assembly, and he gave expression to his regret, for he thought that, had it been submitted and received favorably, a small appropriation, in addition to that asked for, might have been obtained, which would have enabled the trustees to erect in Charlottesville what he said would be "the best seminary in the United States." In his impatience, Jefferson sent Cabell copies of all the papers,—with the exception apparently of the petition for the lottery,—which had been reposing in Watson's inert hands, for, with characteristic

foresight, he had been careful to retain duplicates of the originals. The package forwarded contained: (1) a letter that described the plans for the institution; (2) Jefferson's reply to the observations of Dr. Cooper on this plan; (3) the trustees' petition; and (4) the draft of the Act which the General Assembly was expected to pass.

It was stated in the petition that the resources relied upon by the trustees were the proceeds of the projected lottery; the fund, with the interest added, accruing from the sale of the glebes of Fredericksville and St. Anne's parishes; and the dividend from the profits of the Literary Fund of the State as pro-rated to Albemarle county. The additional aid which Jefferson, but for Watson's neglect, had hoped to procure from the General Assembly was a loan of seven or eight thousand dollars for a period of four or five years. He declared that, with this amount of money available, he would be in a position to engage three of the ablest characters in the world to fill the higher professorships,—“three such characters,” he said, “as are not in a single university of Europe”; and for those of languages and mathematics, able instructors could also, at the same time, be employed. “With these characters,” he exclaims, “I should not be afraid to say that the circle of sciences composing the second and final grade would be more perfectly taught here than in any institution of the United States.” In these words, we have again that almost pathetic touch to which we have previously referred: the contrast between the magnitude and nobility of his designs for higher education in Virginia, and the smallness of the funds at his disposal. This was the inception of that protracted struggle for State appropriations for the most beloved and treasured scheme of his illustrious life, which was not to end until he sank on his deathbed at Monticello, and which, at-

tended throughout by alternate dejection and encouragement, was pursued with an unselfish persistence and devotion that forms one of the most inspiring chapters in the history of American education.

Before the Academy was merged in the College, his correspondence with his most loyal and zealous coadjutor in this prolonged appeal for assistance, began. "I had no hint from any quarter," Cabell wrote on March 5, 1815, "that I was expected to bestow particular care on the business. There was nothing which should have defeated the petition unless objected to by some of the people of Albemarle, who might not wish to appropriate the proceeds of the sale of the glebes to the establishment of the Academy at Charlottesville; or a few members of the Assembly who might have other views for the disposition of the income of the Literary Fund; or from Eastern delegates from the lower counties, who may have fears for William and Mary. . . . I hope that there would be no other effect produced by the plan on William and Mary than that necessarily resulting from another college in the State." This petition, the second of the documents which Jefferson sent to Cabell in Richmond, contained a prayer for the substitution of a college for the Academy, and as this was a copy of the original petition which Carr enclosed to the Louisa delegate, Watson, the original petition itself must also have been of precisely the same tenor. It was re-submitted, with the other papers, to the General Assembly at the beginning of the session of 1815-16, but now under Cabell's general direction. On December 18, he wrote to Isaac Coles as follows: "Notwithstanding my unabated regard for the institution of William and Mary, I shall do everything in my power to give success to Mr. Jefferson's scheme of a college now pending before the Assembly. The more the better. He

has drafted a beautiful scheme of a college at Charlottesville."

The patron of the bill in the Lower House of Assembly was Thomas W. Maury, one of the delegates from Albemarle. When the debate upon it began, antagonism at once arose to that clause which asked for an appropriation out of the profits of the Literary Fund in proportion to the population of the county. This opposition was based on the presumption that the public uses to which this fund was to be applied had not yet been determined; and on Cabell's advice, this provision was struck out as not likely at that time to be adopted. All the other clauses were ultimately approved by the House. Before the measure, however, could reach the Senate, Yancey, the other representative of Albemarle in the lower body, seeking out Cabell, requested him to offer an amendment to it, when called up in the upper chamber, that would eliminate the clause empowering the trustees of Central College to carry out the main requirement of the law of 1796 by fixing the exact date for putting in operation the general plan for public education in Albemarle. Mr. Yancey was worried by the apprehension that his constituents would be displeased should they find themselves placed on a different footing in this respect from the freeholders and householders of the other counties, all of whom enjoyed the right to designate the time by popular vote. Cabell seems to have belittled the grounds for this fear; but he shortly afterwards discovered that the Governor of the State, a shrewd politician, held the same opinion as Yancey.

His hope of securing the final passage of the bill in the form in which the Lower House had left it, was soon dissipated; discussion in the Senate brought out at once an expression of hostility to that clause which clothed the

proctor of the College with all the functions of a justice of the peace within the academic precincts. Cabell hurried off a letter to Jefferson the very day the bill was reported in the Upper House (February 16, 1816), to find out why this stipulation had been inserted. His purpose was to silence the unfriendly senators. Jefferson, in his reply, which was delayed until the 24th, pointed out that he had simply suggested the adoption of a rule which had always prevailed in every great European seat of learning; and that if the proctor was a man of integrity and discretion,—which might be presumed from his selection for his office,—he was just as likely as the neighboring justices of the peace to prove himself entirely trustworthy in the exercise of all his judicial powers. Another desirable feature was, that, acting as he would do in the privacy of the College, he would be able to shield culprits among the immature students from the disgrace of the common prison by confining them to their rooms, when their offenses were not very heinous. “My aim,” Jefferson added, “was to create for the young men a complete police of their own, tempered by the paternal affection of their tutors.” Nowhere, in his opinion, would such a local police be so much required, for the history of the College of William and Mary had demonstrated, both before and after the Revolution, that students and town boys would be constantly kicking up rows and breaking out into riots to gratify their mutual feeling of animosity. Should the proctor, in the performance of his magisterial duties, expose himself to the charge of either partiality or remissness, the nearest magistrate could quickly and easily interpose.

Jefferson's argument failed to convince the opposing senators, and the clause was stricken out by Cabell; and the like fate also befell at his hands that clause to which

both Mr. Yancey and the Governor had expressed their emphatic objection as being impolitic and untimely.

Would the Senate, unlike the Lower House, be willing to vote in favor of any kind of appropriation for the benefit of the new College? Cabell thought that their consent could be only obtained to a plausible subterfuge. At that time, a Mr. Broadwood had acquired a great reputation in the country below Richmond by his success in teaching the deaf and dumb. "Why not invite him to Charlottesville," Cabell wrote Jefferson in January, "and establish him in the house which Estes has offered to sell? Would it suit your purpose to get an Act passed for a lottery to purchase that house for an establishment for the deaf and dumb as a wing to Central College?" So convinced was Cabell that only in some indirect way resembling this could an appropriation be assured, that he wrote to Jefferson again on the same subject before time sufficient had passed for a reply to be returned to his first letter. "It is barely possible," he remarks on this second occasion, "that the General Assembly may give the Central College something for teaching the deaf and dumb. I am endeavoring to prepare the more liberal part for an attempt at an amendment of a professorship of the deaf and dumb. Thus far it is well received, but it may be baffled. I have thought that such a plan might engage the affection of the coldest member." Could there be a more pertinent commentary on the obstacles, that, on every side, confronted the advocates of popular education in Virginia than this scheme, which Cabell brought forward only in a spirit of despair? But Jefferson, while he was anxious to get assistance from the public treasury, was unwilling to lower the dignity of his great plan by obtaining that aid on conditions which were inconsistent with its true character. In his reply, he can-

didly stated, that, in his opinion, Charlottesville offered no special advantages that would justify Mr. Broadwood in removing his school thither. A large town, like Richmond, was far preferable for such an establishment. The aims of an academic college and the aims of a school for the deaf and dumb were fundamentally different. The one was designed for science, the other for mere charity. "It would," he added, "be gratuitously taking a boat in tow which may impede but cannot aid the motion of the principal institution."

Before the bill was put upon its final passage, Mr. Poin-dexter, who represented the Louisa and Fluvanna district, submitted a resolution that the share of those counties in the sum accruing from the sale of the Fredericksville and St. Anne's glebes, so far as these parishes overlapped the area of that district, should be reserved for their use, and as the proportion was small, Cabell thought it advisable to assent; and he was swayed in doing this further by his own conviction that the new college should rely upon State appropriations rather than upon such meagre resources as were set forth in the bill for its creation.

Albemarle Academy was converted into Central College by an Act of Assembly dated the fourteenth of February, 1816. Among the influences which are said to have hastened the passage of the bill was the success that had crowned the canvass to obtain subscriptions for the Academy; and also the announcement that the great political economist of France, Say, having expressed his willingness to remove his home to Albemarle, would, in that event, quite certainly consent to be employed as a professor in the new seat of learning. Perhaps, the most curious fact associated with the incorporation of the College was the strong probability, at one time, that it would

be established without the elimination of the Academy. So much for the hold which Triplett Estes had on the affections of the one hundred and forty-seven citizens of Albemarle who had been urging the lottery as a means of raising the fund needed to buy his property in Charlottesville! An independent bill was submitted in the Senate authorizing the lottery to be carried out, and providing that, if the Visitors of the new college should prefer the Old Stone tavern as a site, they should have the right to buy it with the proceeds of the lottery. Should they fail to do so, however, this sum could be used to secure that site for the revived Academy. Cabell offered an amendment that the proceeds should be put absolutely at the disposal of Central College even if the Visitors should decide that it would be improper to locate the institution in the Estes house or unwise to purchase that house even at a reasonable price. Cabell feared that, if the bill should become law without this amendment, there would arise a conflict between the Academy,— which, under the terms of that bill, would have to be placed in the Old Stone tavern,— and the Central College, created by an entirely different Act, under the provisions of which its Visitors were empowered to choose a site wherever their judgment should guide them. The bill for the lottery was rejected by the Senate, and with it disappeared all danger of the threatened duality.

VII. *Jefferson's Foresight for the College*

One of the conspicuous qualities of Jefferson's many-sided mind was a far-sightedness that was at once minute and imperialistic in its scope. His possession of this characteristic to an extraordinary degree has come to light in the course of our previous narrative, but perhaps it was

never more clearly evinced than in the name which he gave to the new college, and in his choice of the men who were to be coupled with himself in its organization and development. Had he styled it Albemarle College, he must have put aside all hope of ultimately obtaining a larger support from the State than would be granted to any other of the local academies. At the best, the most sanguine expectation that he could nurse would be, that, in time, it would rise to the respectable but not pre-eminent rank of Washington and Hampden-Sidney Colleges.

Jefferson had a State university really in view, and as such an institution could be only founded with the assistance of the Commonwealth, he wisely decided to give the new seat of learning the name that would approximate the closest to the broad meaning of the words, "University of Virginia"; in short, a name that, from the very start, would lift it above the common level of the academies and colleges already in existence, by clothing it with the dignity of an institution rightly bidding, in the opinion of all, for the patronage of the Virginians in the mass. By such a name alone, the supreme convenience of its situation, in those days of stage coach and private carriage, would be indicated to every citizen in the State who had a son to educate. But Jefferson looked upon this last fact as important only because it would be promotive of his main object. He anticipated that, when the struggle for the site of the university, which he was confident would be built in the future, began, the people would have become accustomed to thinking of the college at Charlottesville as the only really central seat of learning underway in Virginia, and for that reason, if for no other, possessing the prior claim to final conversion into a great State institution. In other words, he reck-

oned the value of the temporary success to Central College chiefly in the light of its increasing the chance of the College's transformation into the University, when the hour was ripe for that long forecasted event.

There was a choleric debate going on, at this time, as to the wisdom of removing the capital from Richmond to some place which would better subserve the convenience of the Virginian people by its more central situation. The advocates of Staunton were active to uproariousness in urging the superiority of her claim on this score; and some of them even put out a plain threat, that, unless the seat of administration was transferred to the west of the Blue Ridge, those parts of the Commonwealth would confederate to erect a new State. It is not improbable that, in the midst of this scramble for preference, Jefferson harbored the hope that Charlottesville would be selected as the new metropolis; and had he been a member of the General Assembly at this hour, and as young as he was in 1776, he might have secured the simultaneous establishment of both the capital and the university on the banks of the Rivanna, in his native county. He had shown how important he considered the association of the two to be at the time that he was endeavoring to broaden the course of study at the College of William and Mary, when Williamsburg was still the seat of government. Being fully aware, through his frequent correspondence with Cabell, of the ferment in the General Assembly over the question of removing the Capital, he clearly foresaw the opposition which both Staunton and Lexington would stir up to the erection of the university in the eastern shadow of the Ridge,—Staunton because it would interfere with the success of her campaign to acquire the new seat of administration; and Lexington because it would put an end to the realization of her ambi-

tion to become the site of the proposed State institution. In giving the name "Central College" to the new seat of learning, Jefferson, in a spirit of quiet calculation, defined the political aspirations of the one town, and the academic aspirations of the other; and at the same time, tacitly announced to the entire Commonwealth that, when the hour should arrive for locating the university, he was going to make a bid for the site on the score of this centrality, to which he knew no rival could pretend.

But he was not satisfied with creating but one favorable condition, at the very start, to sustain the claim which he expected to bring forward just so soon as the General Assembly should decide to establish a university: his next step was to join with himself in the directorate of his new college men of such preeminence in the social and political affairs of the Commonwealth that their personal distinction would be a powerful agency in winning popular respect for it, thus influencing public sentiment in support of his ultimate designs.

One of the baffling questions that offers itself in this somewhat obscure initial stage of our history is: how did Jefferson succeed, apparently so amicably,¹ in getting rid of the very estimable board of trustees of Albemarle Academy? That board embraced, as we have seen, fifteen or sixteen citizens of the county who deservedly enjoyed a high degree of repute in their own community. Was no bad feeling aroused in them when the seat was withdrawn so abruptly from under them? No reason for their elimination that could have been submitted, however sound from a practical point of view, could have been entirely acceptable to their sensibilities. Were they too

¹ Some of the trustees of the old Academy actually sent a petition to Governor Nicholas requesting the appointment of the men whom Jefferson had selected for the College Board. Va. Cal. State Papers, X, p. 437.

numerous? This was a fault which could have been removed by reduction. Were they lacking in influence? To intimate that they were was perhaps too delicate an assertion to make even by innuendo. The plausible and soothing explanation that was given by Jefferson was probably this: (1) that the original board was too large, and that it was better to drop all its members than to irritate the many by choosing only a few from its number to serve on the second board: (2) that the only solid hope of enlarging the scope of the new college was by drawing together for its support a board which would represent, not one county, but the entire State; and (3) that the conversion of the College into a university, which could only be accomplished by such means, would confer both a sentimental and a material advantage on the people of Albemarle county. It was, perhaps, this ulterior scheme, well known to every member of the old board, that softened the chagrin which must have been felt by them as a body. In one alone did exasperation against Jefferson show itself in action, and in that instance, this may have been due to political and not to personal irritation. John Kelly was the exception. When an offer was made for his land near Charlottesville for the purpose of using it as the site of the College, he seems to have declined it with a brusqueness that was decidedly offensive; and this conduct was emphasized by the fact that he was conspicuous in the religious life of the community.

The Board of Visitors of Central College comprised Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, David Watson, Joseph Carrington Cabell, and John Hartwell Cocke. Jefferson and Madison, besides their extraordinary services in other lofty public positions, had each occupied the Presidency during eight years in critical

times. Mr. Monroe was, at the hour of his appointment, the actual incumbent of that exalted office. The careers and the characters of these three distinguished statesmen belong to the history of the whole country, and are too well known to call for any description here. The reputations of the other three members of the Board were confined to Virginia. It is not necessary to dwell on the character of David Watson, or the events of his life, as he seems, either from indolence or ill health, to have taken no part in the labors of the Board; and a substitute was ultimately found for him, apparently with his full approval. There was a wide gulf between his conduct in this respect, whether voluntary or involuntary, and that of the remaining members of the body, Cabell and Cocke, Jefferson's two most faithful and persevering coadjutors,—the one in assisting him to obtain the appropriations from the General Assembly, which were indispensable to the success of the University; the other, in aiding him in its actual construction. The indefatigable services of both to the institution continued during a period of many years after the death of the "sachem," as they admiringly called him in the privacy of their correspondence; and they stand in its history second only to him in the energy, devotion, and intelligence of their unceasing efforts in its behalf. That history would not be adequately treated without a full account of their careers to show the reader the spirit and the calibre of the two men, to whom, after Jefferson, the University was most deeply indebted, either for its foundation, or for its prosperity during its formative years. It is only by examining the honorable record of their lives that we can clearly understand why, after choosing a famous former President of the United States, and an actual President, as members of the new board, he should then have se-

lected two younger men, whose reputations were limited to the area of their native State.

VIII. *Joseph C. Cabell*

Joseph Carrington Cabell, who was born in the tumultuous atmosphere of the Revolution, was the grandson of William Cabell, an English gentleman who emigrated to Virginia, patented a principality in the valley of the upper James, and founded a family of social and political importance in itself, and of remarkable ramifications by inter-marriage. Joseph's mother was sprung from the Carrington family, which occupied a corresponding position of distinction in the general history of the Colony and State. The course of his education followed the normal groove of those times,— first, he sat under a tutor in his father's house; next, attended two private schools in Albemarle county; and then, after one term passed at Hampden-Sidney College, recommended perhaps by its nearness to his maternal kinsfolk, he entered the College of William and Mary. Here he soon won the affectionate interest of the venerable president, Bishop Madison, by his accurate scholarship, uncommon talents, and genial temper. The same superior qualities made an equally strong appeal to his companions among the students; his friends felt for him a tenderness so deep and true that it continued to soften the tone of their letters to him many years after they had become absorbed in their callings; and that they were entirely worthy of him in character and abilities alike, is proven by the eminence which they reached in their native State,— Isaac Coles, private secretary of President Jefferson; Henry St. George Tucker, Presiding Judge of the Court of Appeals; Benjamin Watkins Leigh, Senator of the United States;

Philip P. Barbour, Justice of the Supreme Court; Chapman Johnson, Robert Stanard, and John T. Lomax, famous lawyers; and finally, John Hartwell Cocke. Graduating in 1798, he began the study of the law under St. George Tucker, professor of jurisprudence and politics in the College; but seems to have found constant distractions in the gaieties and political demonstrations that diversified the life of the little town.

Cabell was fettered throughout life with a delicate constitution. Alarming pulmonary weakness began to assail him even before his final departure from Williamsburg. In 1801, he made his first voyage for the restoration of his strength; his tour, in this instance, did not carry him further than Norfolk; but after spending several months in the office of Daniel Call, in Richmond, during the autumn of that year, he made a second voyage, which reached as far as Charleston, where he passed the winter. His taste for travel, which had its earliest stimulus in this search for health, was not yet satisfied, for, during the following summer (1802), he visited the principal resorts in the mountains of Virginia, and in the autumn, set out on horseback on a long journey; Turkey Island, on James River, was his first goal; from that place, he rode to Fredericksburg, Mt. Vernon, Western Maryland, Harper's Ferry, and Winchester; and from Winchester returned to his home. He derived so little permanent benefit from this excursion in the open air that he decided to pass a winter in Southern France. "While I am compelled to spend time and money in pursuit of health," he wrote his father, Colonel Nicholas Cabell, in November (1802) "is it not better, at the same time, to travel for improvement, and where can I turn my attention with more propriety than to the two most cultivated countries on earth, England and France?"

During the detention of his ship in the port of Norfolk by unfavorable winds, he made his first and last application for a Federal office. James Monroe had been appointed by the President to settle the irritating differences which still hung on between the United States, on the one side, and France and Spain, on the other. Cabell sought the position of private secretary to the envoy, or the secretaryship of legation attached to the mission, should the former place have been already filled. "I hope," he wrote Monroe, "that you will favor the views of one who has impaired his constitution in the pursuit of science, and who now goes to Europe chiefly with the view to widen the sphere of his knowledge." But this high-minded aspiration for office was frustrated so soon as it expressed itself. Arriving at Bordeaux in February, 1803, very much debilitated by a rough voyage, he, nevertheless, at once resumed his journey to Paris, and after he reached that city, had opportunities to enjoy many of the public and private pleasures which it offered,—witnessed a brilliant review of troops by Napoleon; dined with Volney and Kosciusko; and went on long rambles through the streets with Robert Fulton, who had come over from London to continue his experiments with the submarine in the waters of the Seine. Fulton urged his companion to interest himself in internal improvements on his return to Virginia; and the advice was not lost, as the course of Cabell's future career will reveal.

During a visit to Italy, with the view of inspecting the celebrated universities of that country, Cabell, while stopping in Naples, was brought into delightful intercourse with Washington Irving. They strolled through the famous museums and palaces of the city together, climbed to the crater of Vesuvius, and were nearly suffocated with gas from its crevices by a sudden shift in the

wind. Together they slowly travelled to Rome, where they passed Holy Week in the enjoyment of all those ceremonies of the Church which made that part of the year so splendid in the Eternal City. After his return to Paris, in the same genial companionship, Cabell started upon a second tour, which carried him, by measured stages, into Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, and later still into England, where he was introduced into the literary circle that had as its centre the unconventional William Godwin.

By the advice of his physician, he dropped his books, and filled up his time with lectures and conversation only. His principal aim was always the acquisition of knowledge,—especially in the several departments of natural science,—and this led him to sit at the feet of Cuvier and other eminent professors, in the study of zoology, vegetable chemistry, chemistry proper, anatomy, and mineralogy. “France,” he wrote, “presented to my view all the branches of natural history under the aspects of new and captivating splendor.” He assisted an American friend, MacClure, in collecting a valuable quantity of minerals, in the course of which they explored together the hills of Auvergne, and sauntered as far as the Alps; and in order to extend and perfect his information about botany, he spent a winter at the University of Montpellier, famous at that time for the thoroughness of its instruction in this province of Nature. So keen was his interest in education that he visited Pestalozzi at Yverdon to observe the original methods of that celebrated teacher of the young. His intimacy with Washington Alston stimulated his native taste for the fine arts; he made detours in his travels to inspect the most renowned galleries; and during his stay at Rome, purchased many engravings of

Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican, and also of the noblest paintings by Poussin, Guido, and Domenichino.

When Cabell was on the point of setting out from Virginia for Europe, his brother, William H. Cabell, had warned him "not to suffer anything to shake his attachment for his own country, or to render him dissatisfied with the American state of society, manners, and customs." "The moment you feel any disposition of the kind," he concluded, "fly back to America." There was no need of this counsel, amiably designed as it was. Cabell's thoughts, in all his travels, researches, and studies abroad, were principally directed towards serving his native State by gathering up all sorts of knowledge that were likely to be useful to it when applied for its benefit later on. He returned to the United States in the spring of 1806, after an absence of three years, which had quadrupled his stores of information without weakening his loyalty to the land of his birth. He brought back with him a letter of introduction to Dr. Barton, of Philadelphia, who possessed a wide reputation for his attainments in the sciences of botany and natural history. Through a letter of introduction from Barton, Cabell for the first time, made the personal acquaintance of Jefferson, whose reception of him was marked by uncommon warmth and cordiality, for Cabell was a friend of his secretary, Isaac Coles; belonged to a family of high social station in Virginia; and was known to be interested in the sciences which appealed most directly to the President's taste. Jefferson tried to induce him to enter the Federal service, — offered him in turn the consulate at Tunis, the Under-Secretaryship of State, the Secretaryship of Orleans Territory, and finally, the Territorial Governorship; but Cabell had been too long abroad to be seduced into accepting

offices that would further prolong his absence from Virginia, with which he was now anxious to identify himself again in both social and civic life.

He soon found a charming wife in Williamsburg in the stepdaughter of the eminent jurist, St. George Tucker, the daughter of Mrs. Tucker by her marriage with George Carter, in early life. Mrs. Tucker herself was a daughter of Sir Peyton Skipwith. In the veins of the youthful and lovely Mrs. Cabell there ran, from these two sources, the most aristocratic blood to be found in a State that could rightly boast of the gentle descent of its leading families. She was also the wealthiest heiress in Eastern Virginia; her Corrotoman estate spread over an area of nearly seven thousand acres of land, peopled by several hundred slaves and many white tenants; and in some years, the products of its soil swelled in volume to four thousand bushels of wheat and three thousand barrels of corn.

Although the laws of the State, at that time, vested in the husband the property of the wife, Cabell kept the splendid estate thus acquired entirely detached from his own; administered its affairs in his name as trustee with the most scrupulous care; and at his death, it reverted to her trebly augmented in value through his sagacious management. With his own inheritance thus largely increased, he was in the position of a man of handsome fortune, who could follow his own inclinations in the pursuit of a calling, without being harassed by the necessity of earning his daily bread. Should he begin again the study of law? "Watkins Leigh was here yesterday," wrote W. H. Cabell to him in April, 1807, "and said that you ought not to think of law except as a politician, or except as it will advance your political aims. He thinks there is a moral obligation on every man in your situation to be

a politician." St. George Tucker, who was one of the best, wisest, and most accomplished men of that day, held a different opinion: he urged Cabell, with characteristic earnestness, to aim at eminence in the law. Cabell replied that he "meant to begin as a lawyer, and allow the passage of time to settle the question whether or not he should diverge permanently into the field of politics." In the meanwhile, he resolved to attend the course of lectures on jurisprudence which Judge Nelson was delivering in Williamsburg, where Cabell was now residing with his wife; but this turned out to be only an excellent preparation for the political career upon which he was so soon to embark, and which he was to pursue so usefully and so honorably for so many years. His most intimate friends, Watkins Leigh, Isaac Coles, and John Hartwell Cocke, understood the predominant bent of his tastes. "You have been a wanderer long enough," wrote Coles in December, 1807, "it is now fit that you should have a home. . . . Build a box on your Warminster farm and become a candidate for the Legislature from Amherst."

He adopted this counsel, went back to his native county, offered himself for office, was successful, and took his seat in the House of Delegates in December, 1808. He continued a member of that body during two very notable terms, and was one of the committee that reported in favor of the establishment of the Literary Fund, the most vital legislative stroke of those times. He represented the new county of Nelson in the Lower House; but, in 1810, was elected to the Senate as the member for the district composed of the counties of Albemarle, Fluvanna, and Nelson. He retired from that body in 1829, and from 1831 to 1833, sat again in the House of Delegates, as that division of the General Assembly was the one in which he could uphold and push the interests of

the James River and Kanawha Canal to the most signal advantage. In 1833, he was pressed to become a candidate for the Governorship, but declined to permit his name to be used; and although an opportunity was frequently open to him to enter Congress, he was content to be of use to his State exclusively within its own borders. He pointedly discouraged the effort to bring about his nomination in 1822, with these simple and modest words, "I have devoted the prime of my life to the service of our district. I shall endeavor to close my course with fidelity to my friends. . . . My mind feels relieved, now that the world will be pleased not to regard my zeal on certain subjects as sprung from a thirst for office and popular favor."

In political as well as in personal intercourse, Cabell was in the closest harmony with Jefferson. We shall soon come to that epic chapter in the history of the University which records their great struggle, with tongue and pen, to obtain the necessary appropriations for its construction; but they were together interested in numerous other questions of hardly less importance in principle. In their voluminous correspondence, they are discovered exchanging views on all sorts of subjects: on the right of one generation to bind another by legislative enactment; on whether a member of the House of Representatives could legally represent a district in which he did not reside; or whether it was expedient to divide a State into townships rather than into counties. "My object," wrote Cabell, in 1814, "is to be useful to my country in the station which I occupy (Senate), and in availing myself occasionally of your valuable aid, it would be highly improper to disturb the tranquility of your retirement," and he, therefore, assures the venerable statesman of the scrupulous privacy in which all his letters would be kept.

Again and again he seeks that aid, either for a general or a particular purpose bearing directly on his legislative duties. In September, 1814, before setting out for Richmond, he writes, "I would wish to carry some useful ideas with me when I join the Senate, and I take the liberty once more to ask you to furnish me with such suggestions as you may deem useful." And a few weeks afterwards, he writes again, evidently in acknowledgment of Jefferson's prompt compliance with this previous request, "I should be extremely thankful for any further communication you may, at any time, be pleased to make me, feeling myself always highly gratified and instructed by any views which you take of any subject."

Cabell's sense of integrity as a public servant was so pure and delicate that it amounted at times to feminine sensitiveness. "Why will you suffer your peace of mind and your happiness," wrote his brother, William H. Cabell, in 1814, "to be at the mercy of any man who chooses to assail you, or to make even an insinuation against the propriety of your conduct? I believe I should be less concerned, were I convinced that ninety-nine one hundredths of the world thought me a villain than you would if you thought an obscure individual, one thousand miles away from you, believed you only incorrect."¹

The faithful and lofty spirit that animated him throughout his political career is transparent in all he did, spoke, and wrote. "I think the greatest service a man can render," he remarked in one of his letters, "is to speak the truth and to show that is his only object," and these simple words epitomized his personal as well as his political motives. "You have pursued an erect

¹ The firm course pursued by Cabell in the controversy over the removal of the College of William and Mary, to be described later on, proved that he could be serenely indifferent to criticism, and even to obloquy, if he was sustained by the approval of his own conscience.

and honorable course," said Cocke to him, in 1819, "and as an enlightened and high-minded public servant ought, you must be satisfied with the approbation of your own conscience." Such was the attitude towards him of all who had observed his actions, whether calculated to bring to him universal popularity or general disfavor.

There were three great public interests of which Cabell was an ardent and indefatigable supporter: Internal Improvements, Education, and Agriculture. We have already mentioned Robert Fulton's advice to him to make the question of Internal Improvements a part of his political platform on his return to the United States. He lived long enough to earn the name of the DeWitt Clinton of Virginia by his unwearied exertions for the revival, construction, and extension of the James River and Kanawha Canal, which, before the building of many railroads in the Commonwealth, was looked upon as an enterprise as imperial in its scope as the Erie Canal itself; and justly so, for had it been situated in a community of large financial resources, and not been obstructed by a vast mountain crossing, it would have been extended to the Ohio and Mississippi, and by pouring the wheat and corn of the West into the lap of Norfolk, would have made that city a second New York, and changed the destinies of the State. Previous to 1821, only twenty miles of the canal, beginning at Richmond,—where it united with tidewater,—had been completed, and that only partly at public expense. With the assistance of Chapman Johnson, the distinguished lawyer, Cabell drew up a charter for the new James River and Kanawha Canal Company, and then undertook to obtain popular support for the resuscitated enterprise. From the shores of Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio, he travelled through county after county, addressing the people from the steps of the

court-houses in the spirit of another Peter the Hermit, as was said at the time, and earnestly soliciting subscriptions to carry the bed of the proposed waterway far beyond the crest of the Alleghanies. Under his Presidency, the line was constructed westward for a length of two hundred miles. In the administration of its affairs, he exhibited, according to Governor Wise,—a man particularly competent to judge him correctly,—“such conspicuous zeal, ability, and decision, such unsullied integrity and becoming dignity, and yet so much amenity, with so choice, vigorous, and discriminating an intellect, and bore himself with so much honor and justice, that he carried with him, in his retirement, the universal respect, confidence, and regard of those who knew him.”

Cabell's interest in general education in Virginia was not limited to one great seat of learning: he used his influence on every occasion, and by every means, to improve all the facilities for secondary and primary instruction also, and for both sexes too. At the hour that he was the Atlas of the fortunes of the University in the General Assembly, he was acting as one of the trustees of the Charlottesville Ladies' Academy. He apparently went so far as to have the methods of Pestalozzi adopted in the schools of Nelson county; and he also made a patient investigation of the Lancasterian system, which was based on the social principle. He also planned to erect so ambitious an institution as a college at Warminster in the immediate neighborhood of his home at Edgewood, and would probably have successfully carried out this scheme by means of a public lottery, had not his friends united in warning him of its supposed impracticability, which dispirited him for its further prosecution. “My great object,” he wrote to one of the critics, who had described the projected college as a lighthouse in the

sky, owing to the remoteness and seclusion of the site chosen for it, "was to prove how much could be effected by studious measures judiciously directed, and to encourage their introduction into other parts of Virginia."

Cabell's unfailing support of all bills before the General Assembly to improve the condition of agriculture in Virginia had its stimulus in part in his keen interest in the diversified operations of his own plantation. In correspondence with Cocke, his most intimate friend, who was an enthusiastic farmer, he is repeatedly making or replying to inquiries that played about all sides of the farmer's life. Fruit trees, grass, wheat, tobacco, buildings, timber, rams, overseers, hedges, lime, machinery and ploughs, one after another, are the subjects upon which special information was either sought or given. In September, 1818, he writes to another friend, Isaac Coles, that he is too busy with surveying his lines to compose certain essays which he had promised to read before the Agricultural Society. "Confound politics," he exclaimed in a letter to Cocke, in 1821, "welcome my native fields." "I am jogging on here," he wrote to the same correspondent, in 1828, from Edgewood, "riding over my farms and superintending the servants." He was not in sympathy with the impatient sentiment that prevailed among many Virginians, about 1830, in favor of Abolition, because he was convinced that slavery was so intertwined with all the roots of the community's life that it could not be torn up without jeopardizing the health, even should it not destroy the existence, of every associated interest. But no master was ever more benevolent or more watchful in his relations with his slaves; in 1848, when he was far advanced in years, a typhoid epidemic broke out on his plantation; notwithstanding his physical infirmities, he passed four or five hours daily on horseback engaged in

visiting the sick, comforting them with kind and encouraging words, and administering their medicines with his own hands. He declined to accept Cocke's invitation to Bremono at this time. "It is quite inadmissible for us," he replied, "to leave those dependent on our care for their lives to visit even the most valued friends."

Cabell died in 1856, and the last scene of his life was consistent with the noble tenor of it throughout. "Never," reported his nephew, N. F. Cabell, who was present at the closing hour, "have I seen more dignity, calmness, and resignation to the divine will." His death was appropriately announced by the Governor of the State, who spoke of him as emphatically and peculiarly "the Virginia Statesman," the man whose entire public services had been absorbed in building up and advancing the general welfare of his native commonwealth. Having possessed the close personal friendship of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, he had caught that spirit of wise moderation, in both word and act, which had given them such preeminence as political sages. And there was something too about his temper and demeanor that recalled to those who knew him a still loftier example of manhood and statesmanship. "No one could be much with Mr. Cabell," remarks a friend of his in his last years, "without seeing that he had taken George Washington for his model. In his principles and his conduct, in the dignity of his character, and even in the gentlemanly and becoming particularity of his dress, you could not fail to observe the resemblance."¹

IX. *John Hartwell Cocke*

John Hartwell Cocke is not to be credited with as conspicuous services in assisting in the foundation of the Uni-

¹ Letter of T. H. Ellis in *Richmond Whig*, September, 1856.

versity as Cabell, but the work which he, as one of the two members of the committee of superintendence, performed in aiding in its building and initial development, gives him a place in its early history second only to that of his friend, the principal coadjutor of Jefferson. The family to which he belonged had been planted in Virginia in the seventeenth century, and had always stood in the first rank for fortune and refinement. Inheriting, like Cabell, a competent estate, he was left at liberty to follow his own tastes, which all leaned towards the pursuits of a country gentleman. Unlike Cabell, he was destitute of political aspirations; and he was drawn into enterprises of a public character more by a high and keen sense of civic responsibility than by any desire to raise his own personal repute. He first appears in a public capacity in April, 1813, as captain of artillery. "After theorizing in the nineteen manoeuvres," he jocularly wrote Cabell from the field, "I am now making an excursion to the theatre of the war to see a little practice." That he really possessed military talent is evident by his promotion to the rank of Brigadier before the war was brought to an end; and in fact, he won such solid distinction as a soldier that his name was, in 1814, canvassed in the General Assembly for the office of Governor, until he positively refused to permit its further use. "We need," said Randolph Harrison, in a letter to Cabell, "an active, intelligent, zealous patriot, and one possessing a good deal of military skill and ardor. There is no man in the State who unites all these qualifications in so eminent a degree as John Hartwell Cocke."

Cocke, like Cabell, was a broadminded advocate of public improvements of all kinds, and, in 1823, visited New York in order to inspect the new Erie waterway, and to obtain practical information for opening up the ob-

structed navigation of the upper James River. A few years afterwards, he warmly supported a scheme to launch a fleet of small iron steamboats on the turbulent bosom of that stream; and he was placed upon the earliest board of directors appointed for the administration of the affairs of the James River and Kanawha Canal.

Cocke's approval of popular education was so keen that he threw the full weight of his influence in favor of every attempt that was made to establish a State university; he was chosen by the Governor, at Jefferson's request, as a member of the Board of Visitors of Central College; and he was retained on the University Board in spite of his protesting his disqualification, from lack of experience, to meet the increased responsibility. "As to my personal views," he declared, with characteristic modesty and unselfishness, "God forbid that I should permit such grovelling motives to interfere with what I believe to be the public interest." His enlightened opinion touching education extended to primary and secondary instruction also. He established near his beautiful home at Brems, in 1820, a seminary for boys under the age of fifteen, and drew up for its government a set of rules marked by excellent judgment. It was, however, his own high character that was the principal ground of the confidence which this school inspired in its patrons. "My calculations for my son's improvement," wrote Robert Saunders, of Williamsburg, to him, in 1819, "are made more on his situation with you than on the talents and fitness of the tutor. I am frank enough to say, without intending to compliment you, that I prefer your superintending eye to the benefit he might derive from the best classical scholar I might know in Virginia."

But far more multiform in its scope than the Brems Academy was the gymnasium, on the most thorough Ger-

man model, which he strove so earnestly to set up at Monticello, in the hope of encouraging the erection of many others resembling it to serve as great preparatory schools for the University of Virginia, which, at that time, were very much wanted.¹

The spirit of the most catholic philanthropy animated Cocke throughout life. He was deeply interested in the labors of the Bible, Tract, and Sunday School Societies, and frequently made the toilsome and irksome journey to New England simply to attend the great conventions of those bodies periodically held in the principal cities of those States. The familiar social intercourse with influential Northern men of the different religious denominations which these occasions rendered possible, created in him a less prejudiced attitude of mind towards the Northern States than was to be perceived among the Virginians at large. "While we nurse an angry spirit instead of a conciliatory one towards them," he wrote to Cabell as late as 1855, "the distance between us will continue to grow." But it was not merely this temper, which so wisely deprecated the further feeding of the spreading and consuming sectional fires, that distinguished Cocke from the personal friends about him. He was the boldest and most persistent advocate in his native State at that time of the adoption of universal prohibition. Amiable ridicule, sneering derision, and silent contempt for the doctrine, which, in the next century, was to be incorporated in the statute book of Virginia, did not shake his loyalty to his convictions on this subject, or divert him from publicly and emphatically expressing them. "Of all the events in our history," he said, "the Maine Law

¹ This was after Jefferson's death. The plan was to purchase Monticello, which, at that time, could have been bought for six thousand dollars. A letter from Cocke in the Rives Correspondence gives all the details of this plan. A similar school was to be established in Norfolk.

and its progress strikes my mind as the most important "; and he predicted that the great moral revolution which it represented would pervade all Christendom. Governor Preston, Andrew Stevenson, and Cabell, his intimate friends, never let a chance slip without prodding him, with high good humor, for his obsession; but Cocke's sole reply was to send them another flight of pamphlets barbed to a nicety against King Alcohol. At the very moment that they, in the spirit of that drinking age, were laughingly condemning his habits of abstemiousness as repugnant to good fellowship, they honored the benevolent motives in which all his actions had their fountainhead. "I appreciate your feelings in your solitary home," wrote Cabell, in 1848, "and do not wonder that you roam about the world to soothe your feelings by doing good to your fellowmen."

Cocke was as firm and outspoken an opponent of duelling and slavery as he was of intemperance. Against the first, he directed his pen with all the literary and reasoning skill at his command; and the latter he was in the habit of bitterly stigmatizing as a "curse" to his native State. Only a man of invincible moral courage could have openly taken such a stand in those intolerant times. As early as 1821, he pressed upon the representative in Congress from his district the advisability of an amendment to the Constitution that would allow an appropriation to be made for the transfer of Southern negroes to Africa as the only means of practical emancipation then available. Ten years afterwards he wrote, "I have long and still do steadfastly believe that slavery is the great cause of all the great evils of our land, individual as well as national, and every man of common foresight and reflection is obliged to admit that we or our posterity are inevitably destined to be overwhelmed unless the cause is removed."

. . . How is it that all will not agree to go faithfully and honestly about the work of removing this blot upon our national escutcheon; this cancer that is eating into the vitals of the Commonwealth? ” He was in favor of submitting a petition to the National Government in order to obtain the assistance of the country at large, for he said that the vast and complicated task of extirpation could not be successfully prosecuted in the “straight-jacket which the States Rights gentlemen have put on us.” He did not join in the outcry of exasperation and execration, which, in the South, greeted the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, for he anticipated that it would hasten the end of the institution which it attacked so subtly, and which he himself detested so heartily. Writing, in 1846, he declared that he expected, should he survive to a great age, “to see such changes in Virginia touching slavery that it would now be deemed to be madness ” to predict; and as his death did not occur until after the War of Secession, his own eyes beheld the abysmal ruin which he had forecasted one third of a century before it actually took place.

Cocke, in the spirit of all the Virginians who occupied the same rank in society, found a wholesome delight in the pursuit of the different branches of agriculture. As far back as 1809, he wrote to Cabell that his time was “divided between his family, his farms, his garden, and his books ”; and that he did not have a moment “to be troubled about politics.” “I would not change my situation,” he exclaims, “with the most puissant prince of the House of Napoleon.” He exhibited this characteristic spirit of independence even in his views of his own calling. Tobacco was still the principal crop of the region in which his home was situated, and it had already gone far towards depreciating the fertility of its lands. There was

no public sentiment, however, favorable to its abandonment. Cocke, as he expressed it, "dared to sport a new idea" about this staple by urging that it should be no longer cultivated; and he was probably influenced in doing this by the hope that, not only would an improvement of the soil follow, but that the vices of chewing and smoking would, in the end, be seriously curtailed, even if they did not entirely disappear. He spoke of tobacco tillage and the use of slave labor as the twin evils of agriculture in Virginia, and until both should come to a stop, the State, he predicted, would enjoy no prosperity. The laws practically debarred him from emancipating his bondsmen to their advantage, but, in 1855, he could say with perfect veracity that not one tobacco plant was then grown on a single foot of soil which he had inherited from his ancestors.

Although the name of General Cocke has passed into obscurity because he steadily declined to be elected to high office, yet in power of foresight, he was the most remarkable of all his Virginian contemporaries of his own generation. He not only urged a more conciliatory attitude towards the North, and more frequent intercourse with its people, as a means of removing mutual antagonisms, but he confidently anticipated the success of numerous causes which were, in his day, looked upon with chilling indifference or outspoken aversion, but which have become an accepted part of the solid structure of our present social and political life. He warmly supported every plan to raise the standards of education in all departments, from the lowest to the highest; he advocated with never ceasing energy and devotion the wisdom of adopting universal prohibition; he condemned the barbarism of duelling, which had destroyed some of the most accomplished and chivalrous sons of Virginia, and had gilded

the spirit of lawlessness by making it gentlemanly; he endeavored, by his own example, to discourage the culture of the tobacco plant as ruinous to the soil of his native State; but above all, he solemnly, repeatedly, and consistently declared himself in favor of peaceably abolishing the institution of slavery before its forcible removal should overwhelm every interest of the Commonwealth. Ought we to be surprised that Jefferson, the apostle of liberal principles, should have chosen this farsighted citizen to be one of the Visitors of the untrammelled institution which he was about to found? ¹

x. Site of the College Selected

The space that has been used in describing the personalities of Jefferson, Cabell, and Cocke is fully warranted in the light of a fact that will become increasingly perceptible as our theme advances; namely, that the establishment of the University of Virginia was not dictated by an irresistible popular impulse, but was due primarily to the unwearied exertions of Jefferson and Cabell; and its actual construction to Jefferson, assisted throughout with ability and fidelity by the modest Cocke in the background. Unless we take in the public spirit that had previously animated these men, we cannot arrive at a perfectly accurate conception of all the influences in which the institution had its origin. We have now to relate the story of the practical work which was done in founding it, for, as we shall see, the incorporation of Central College was really the incorporation of the University; the history of the College is the history of the University in its chrysalis state, which must be studied if we are to understand cor-

¹ Cocke had acquired, on his own estate at Bremono, a practical knowledge of building. This fact also, no doubt, was not forgotten by Jefferson.

rectly the first phase of its existence. It is in this phase that we discern the embryo of the nobler structure to follow; the springs as it were of the stream which was so soon to begin to flow in full volume; the slender sapling that was so soon to grow into a fruitful tree.

Among those features inherited from the College which became highly characteristic of the University was its official organization, its system of administration, its plans for buildings, and its requirements for professors. The provisions of the Act of Incorporation of Central College show as plainly as the design for its construction how long the thought of a university had been simmering in Jefferson's consciousness, for when the real university was determined upon a few years afterwards, the only alterations made in those provisions were such as were called for by the widening of the scope of the original scheme. One of the first clauses in the charter of Central College reveals that it was this future university, and not the present college, that he had most vividly in mind: the Governor of Virginia was to be the patron of the new seat of learning; and there was to be a board of six visitors by his appointment. Jefferson himself informs us that this provision was inserted for the explicit purpose of "divesting the situation of the College of all local character and control, and placing it under the will of those who represented the Legislature." The visitors were to hold office for a term of three years; were to come together at least once in the course of each twelve months; were to possess the right to choose a treasurer and proctor; to select the professors, determine their salaries and fees, and prescribe their courses of instruction; to lay down rules for the discipline of the students, and adopt regulations for their lodging and board; to overlook in a general way the officers, agents, and servants in the perform-

ance of their respective duties; and, finally, to draw up such by-laws as would be needed to conserve the general welfare of the institution, and protect and increase its estate.

The treasurer was to continue in office during the pleasure of the Board, and was only to pay out moneys in obedience to their specific or general instructions. The title to all the college property was to be invested in the proctor as trustee; suits were to be brought in his name; and he alone was to receive donations and subscriptions. He was to be the custodian of the buildings and all other estate in the College's possession; the provider and dispenser of the food and fuel that would be required by the students; the immediate overseer of the agents and servants; and the personal medium through whom all the orders, laws, and regulations of the Board were to be carried out.

By the Act of Incorporation, Central College became the beneficiary of all the rights and claims of Albemarle Academy. The only certain income which it could expect to enjoy at an early date consisted of the subscriptions, which had been pledged, chiefly, it would seem, by the citizens of the surrounding region; and the money accruing from the sale of the glebe lands in Fredericksville and St. Anne's parishes. No steps had been taken as yet to swell these funds by means of the lottery which had been authorized. It was due to the emptiness of its coffers that, although the College was chartered in February, 1816, more than twelve months passed before the Board of Visitors assembled. If the proceeds of the glebe sales had been received from the commissioner of the county in the meanwhile, the amount was looked upon by them, previous to that meeting, as too small to justify them in buying a site and laying the foundation stone.

Apparently, it was not until April 8, 1817, that the Visitors endeavored to hold a sitting, and even on that occasion, only three were present; namely, Jefferson, Cabell and Cocke. As a quorum was wanting, no business was transacted beyond fixing upon May 5 as the date for the convening of the whole Board; but the real purpose of the three Visitors was perhaps to inspect a site for the College which had been offered to Jefferson, and which he, probably, thought should be secured, at least optionally, at once. This was done; and when the full Board met on the day appointed, one of their first acts was to ratify this provisional purchase. Jefferson's preference had been for the ground situated on the first ridge lying to the east of the present site of the University, property that belonged to John Kelly, a member of the former board of trustees of Albemarle Academy. Kelly is said to have been a Federalist in political creed; and for this reason, it is reported, the purpose for which the land was to be bought, and Jefferson's connection with it, were kept secret when the tender for it was made. It is quite probable, however, that he had a more personal motive for disliking the master of Monticello. We learn from the recollections of Alexander Garrett, that, when the first suggestion came up of converting Albemarle Academy into Central College, the trustees, presumably Kelly among them, proposed that the new institution should be named Jefferson College, and that Jefferson emphatically objected to this, and recommended "Central College" instead. If Kelly, as one of the trustees, was ready to honor his distinguished neighbor so signally at this time, there must have been some reason besides his Federalism why he, one year later, was so brusque in declining the tender for his property; and that reason, as we have already surmised, was his possible resentment at the sum-

mary dropping of the old board of trustees. So soon as he found out that Jefferson was behind that offer, he turned his back on all further negotiation: "I will see him at the devil," he exclaimed, "before he shall have it at any price." When this rough and abrupt reply was carried to Jefferson, he quietly remarked, "The man is a fool, but if we cannot get the best site, we must be content with the best we can get."¹

Perhaps, he would not have taken his disappointment so philosophically had he not felt that the land belonging to John M. Perry, lying to the west of Charlottesville also, but at a somewhat greater distance, afforded a fairly satisfactory substitute. This site was formed by a narrow ridge that sloped gently from north to south. It fell sharply away from the eastern edge of the small plateau at its top, and from the western edge spread downward here and there in a declivity quite as marked. Although this site was on very high ground, the view of the Blue Ridge must have always been screened more or less by the former Carr's Hill and the present Preston Heights. The Southwest Mountains,—which were then, as now, directly in the scope of the vision,—shut out the horizon too closely at hand to make the scene in that quarter as impressive as the grand spectacle of the Blue Ridge would have done in the other, had a site been obtainable which would have offered an unobstructed outlook on that splendid chain. In a country distinguished for its magnificent landscapes, the spot chosen for the Central College commanded not one entirely; not even from the future northern portico of the Rotunda.

This was the first drawback. The second lay in the

¹ Letter of George W. Randolph to Dr. James L. Cabell, Cabell Papers, University Library. Kelly was not a "fool." His high standing as a man of character and business ability, previously mentioned, clearly demonstrated the contrary.

fact that the trend of the slope required that all the buildings, with the exception of those on the northern line, — the southern line was expected to remain open, — should face east and west. The architect Latrobe pointed out the practical disadvantage of this arrangement before the first pavilion had been erected. "Everyone," he wrote Jefferson in August, 1817, "who has had the misfortune to reside in a house, — especially if it constituted a part of a range of houses, facing east and west, — has experienced both in summer and winter the evils of such an aspect. In the winter, the accumulation of snow on the east, and the severity of the cold on the west, together with the absence of the sun during three fourths of the day, and in the summer, the horizontal rays of the morning sun heating the east side and the evening sun burning the west side, of the house, render such a situation highly exceptional." To this critical but thoroughly practical suggestion, Jefferson replied by saying that "the lay of the ground was a law of nature to which they were bound to conform," but that the objection urged could be partially overcome, first, by placing but one family room in each pavilion in front, and one or two in flank, and leaving apertures for windows in the southern wall. The lecture-room below, he added, could be given "the same advantage by substituting an open passage adjacent instead of dormitory." He conceded, however, that "the dormitories admitted of no relief but Venetian blinds to their windows and doors." "There," he said, "the heat would be less felt because the young men would be in the school-rooms most of the day."

There was perhaps a third drawback, — one, however, that had so little practical importance that it does not seem to have come up for consideration in the selection of a site for the proposed group of buildings. If anyone

will take position at the foot of the last terrace of the Lawn towards the south, and follow the east and west lines of the pillars in front of the pavilions and dormitories, as far as the line of the Rotunda, the impression is a more or less blended one, since the pillars, in that perspective, appear to run together to such an extent as to form to the eye a continuous white mass. The nobility of the Rotunda alone relieves the too solid effect of the almost indistinguishable individual features of the pavilion and dormitory fronts. Had the academic village been erected in a circular form, after the model of the great square of St. Peter's at Rome, the result would probably have been more striking because then each pavilion and each column of the arcades would have stood out distinctly from their respective fellows, with the Rotunda rising in stately dignity at the northern opening of the architectural circumference. But neither the nature of the ground, nor the bent of Jefferson's taste, nor the practical character of his scheme, whether for the buildings or for the professorships, permitted this finer and more impressive disposition of the numerous structures he had in view. In his earliest plans, there was no arrangement for the East and West Ranges, for, in the beginning, he was contriving simply for Central College, which might or might not become the University of Virginia, with its far broader need of accommodation for an ever increasing number of teachers and pupils. Had he been designing for what was certainly to be the supreme State institution so soon as finished, with a large attendance of students and an ample endowment fund assured, it is remotely possible that the plan for the new seat of learning would have taken this nobler circular form at the start. But, as already stated, it would have been first

necessary to choose a wider and more level site than the one selected for the site of a college with an obscured future.¹

The first parcel of land, which covered an area of forty-seven acres, was, at the time of the purchase, an impoverished, disused field. The second parcel, amounting to one hundred and fifty-three acres, and situated about five-eighths of a mile from the first, contained a large quantity of valuable timber and stone for building,—the reason in part for its acquisition, since it was not needed as the site of any of the projected structures. It was also expected to form the watershed for the reservoir which was to supply the cisterns within the precincts.

The first parcel had been patented, in 1735, by Abraham Lewis, as a segment of a tract embracing eight hundred acres. In the course of the previous year, David Lewis and Joel Terrell, his brother-in-law, had acquired title to three thousand acres, which took in the whole of Lewis Mountain, situated on the western flank of the present University site. At an early date, George Nicholas, son of the colonial treasurer, Robert Carter Nicholas, had purchased a tract of two thousand acres, which included, among other sections of these first patents, that portion on which the University buildings now stand. In 1790, James Monroe bought the part to which the present Monroe Hill belongs. Twenty-four years afterwards, John M. Perry purchased of John Nicholas,—then filling the office of county clerk,—the actual site of the University, and after holding it only three years, disposed of it to the Visitors of Central College. Perry was always addressed with the title of Captain, and had

¹ We say "remotely possible" because Jefferson's preference for straight lines was one of the fundamental characteristics of his architectural taste.

sat on the bench of the county magistrates. He was a man whose business branched out in many directions, which would seem to indicate that he possessed at least the qualities of energy and industry,—he was the owner of large areas of ground, the proprietor of mills, and a professional contractor. It was this combination of interests, perhaps, that made him more inclined than John Kelly to accept the offer of the Visitors for his two parcels of land, for he not only thereby sold a respectable number of worn-out acres at a satisfactory price, but, in doing so, created for himself the prospect of securing profitable jobs in the course of the future building. His residence at Montibello, in the immediate neighborhood, enabled him to give his personal attention without inconvenience. As we shall see, he, as well as his son-in-law, George W. Spooner, had an important share in the construction of the College and University alike.

There seems to have been at first a cloud on the title to the site, for it was not until June 23, 1817, that a valid conveyance of it could be made to Alexander Garrett as the trustee. On that day, Garrett, by the written order of Perry, paid to John Winn \$1,066.81 of the money due for the area sold. That both tracts had passed into the possession of the College by September 16, 1817, is confirmed by Perry's acknowledgment of a deferred payment by Garrett, the late proctor of the College, for Nelson Barksdale was now the incumbent of that office.

XI. *The Subscription List*

Having acquired a suitable site for the College, the next step was to erect the requisite buildings. Before describing the remarkable architectural plan which Jefferson had already drafted for use, it will be necessary to

dwell at some length on the sources upon which the Board were relying for the funds that would be indispensable for so expensive an undertaking. The most important was the subscription list. Although a canvass had, with conspicuous success, been made among the citizens of Albemarle county and the surrounding region before the incorporation of Central College, yet so far as it appears, none of this money had been paid before May 5, 1817, when the Visitors convened with a quorum for the first time. It was at once perceived by them that a much larger sum would be required for the new college than was anticipated when the scheme had not as yet passed beyond the stage of an academy. Jefferson, with characteristic energy and promptness, submitted to the Board the preamble for a new subscription list, the tone of which reflected the extreme importance that he attached to education. The right of self-government, he declared, was among the greatest of political blessings, and only an intelligent and instructed people could preserve it for themselves. How was information to be disseminated among them? By multiplying the number of seats of learning, and thus bringing at least one within the convenient reach of every parent or guardian. Central College, he concluded, would "facilitate the means of education to a considerable extent of country"; and it was further recommended, he said, by the salubrity of its climate, and by other local advantages. The subscriber was asked to make a contribution payable as a whole on April 1, 1818, or in four equal instalments, the first to be handed in on that date, and the remainder, in annual succession, during the ensuing three years.

Jefferson, Cabell, and Cocke led off with a subscription of one thousand dollars apiece. So speedy was the success following the appeal, that an early meeting of the

Board was desirable to authorize the beginning of the building. Albemarle county alone had pledged, through its principal citizens, the sum of nineteen thousand dollars. "We are already sure of enough," Cocke informed Cabell, in a spirit of high satisfaction, "to lay the foundation of what I trust may be improved to be a noble work." Cabell himself had, in the meanwhile, been indefatigable in distributing the subscription lists in many parts of Virginia,—he had sent copies to, among others, Colonel Lewis, of Campbell county, Dr. Cabell, of Lynchburg, Edmund Winston, John Camm, Stirling Claiborne, Hill Carter, David Garland, Robert Rives, Henry St. George Tucker, William Brent, and Ellyson Currie, all of whom were influential citizens in their several communities. Brent and Currie were residents of the Northern Neck, which had not even yet recovered from the ravages of the marauding British fleet; but this did not discourage Cabell from asking them to solicit subscriptions at the meetings of the county courts in their district.

Colonel Lewis, of Campbell, made a counter proposition. It appears that he was the owner of a virgin gold mine situated in Buckingham county at a spot not far from Cabell's home near Warminster. "It is the richest mine of that metal ever discovered," he wrote, with honest enthusiasm. He offered to convey a half interest in this amazing underground storehouse of wealth to Central College on condition that the whole was to be drawn for in a lottery, in which twenty thousand tickets were to be used, at a valuation of ten dollars a ticket; or ten thousand issued at a valuation of twenty dollars. The profit would, on this calculation, amount to two hundred thousand dollars, which was to be equally divided between Lewis and the College. The scheme, seductive as it was,

failed to dazzle Cabell's judgment, probably because the mine was situated so close to his own plantation that he had reason, from his own observation, to be skeptical as to its richness. Only a week later, he was visiting Buckingham courthouse, and still interested in the more prosaic method of procuring funds by solicitation in person; but neither he nor his friend, Eppes, the member of Congress from that district, was encouraged by the upshot.

Jefferson too, about this date, found serious impediments in the same path. The main obstruction which he had to surmount, he wrote Cabell in September, 1817, was the "idea that it was a local thing, a mere Albemarle Academy. I endeavor to convince them it is a general seminary of the sciences meant for the use of the State. In this view, all approve and rally to the object. But time seems necessary to plant this idea firmly in their minds."

When the report of the Visitors was drawn up on January 6, 1818, the total amount of the subscriptions had grown to \$35,102; and to this should be added \$3,195.86 derived from the sale of the glebes and now in the custody of the court commissioner. Unhappily, the larger proportion of the voluntary contributions was payable in four annual instalments; none were due until April 1, 1818; and some not until three years should have passed after that date. At least one-half of the total amount would be needed in the summer of 1818; and in anticipation of this fact, Jefferson, on January 15, asked Cabell, then in attendance in the Senate in Richmond, to obtain a loan from the banks of ten to twenty thousand dollars on the security of the subscription lists; but the application was turned down until the Board should consent to give their personal endorsement. Although additional subscriptions continued to come in, this had no

influence in removing the uneasiness with which Jefferson regarded the situation in several of its aspects. "I should be much relieved," he wrote Cabell on the 16th, "if the members of the Board, in the want of visitorial full meetings, would individually call here whenever they happen to pass. Even separate conferences with them would lighten my mind of some of its load."

Taking the returns of the subscription as a whole, there seems to have been no permanent reason for dissatisfaction. In Albemarle county, where every prominent family put its name in the list, the amount of the several contributions ranged from one thousand dollars to twenty dollars; seven citizens pledged themselves each for the former sum and eleven for five hundred dollars respectively; there were one hundred and twenty-nine subscribers in all, and the total sum promised was \$27,440.33. In Richmond city, there were only eleven subscribers, and the largest amount pledged was five hundred dollars. Most of these contributors were bound to Jefferson by ties of kinship or personal loyalty. The amount pledged by the eleven aggregated \$2,225.00. In Stafford county but one subscriber was secured, and in Winchester, but four, who together pledged themselves for eight hundred dollars. All these subscribers were personal friends of Cabell. In Amherst and Buckingham counties, there was only one subscriber respectively, and each pledged himself for a small sum. In Cumberland county, which faced on the fertile low grounds of James River, and contained the homes of many wealthy and cultured families of gentle descent, the number of subscribers rose to twenty-five. The sum contributed by them was \$2,190.00. In Fluvanna, there were fourteen subscribers,—among them General Cocke,—and their offerings amounted to \$2,590.00; in Goochland, twenty

subscribers, with a total contribution of \$1,185.00; in Louisa, six, with a total of \$1,400.00; in Lynchburg, seven, with a total of \$1,300.00; in Nelson, eighteen, with a total of \$2,952.00; in Orange, two,— one of whom was Madison,— with a total of \$1,030.00.

The list of the subscribers is a notable one, not simply from a social point of view, but also for the high public spirit and esteem for learning which their contributions so plainly indicate. In the list for Albemarle, we discover the following respected names: Carr, Divers, Coles, Dawson, Duke, Garrett, Gordon, Garth, Harper, Harris, Kinsolving, Lindsay, Maury, Randolph, Lewis, Leitch, Minor, Monroe, Morris, Nicholas, Patterson, Shackelford, Waddell, Southall, Watson, Shelton, Walker, Winn, Wertenbaker, Wood and Woods; in Stafford county, Brent; in Winchester, Carr, Holmes, Lee, and Tucker; in Buckingham, Eppes; in Cumberland, Bondurant, Deans, Daniel, Harrison, Hughes, Page, Skipwith, Trent, Thornton, Walker, and Woodson; in Fluvanna, Cocke, Scott, Cary, Fuqua and Winn; in Goochland, Carter, Garland, Pickett, Pleasant, Pendleton, Sampson, Randolph, and Watkins; in Loudoun, Mason; in Louisa, Morris, Minor, Trueheart, and Watson; in Lynchburg, Harrison, Pollard, and Yancey; in Nelson, Rives, Calloway, Digges, Garland, Lewis, McClelland and Mosby; and in Orange, Madison.

Many of the local subscribers, with the full concurrence of the Board of Visitors, were anxious to pay the entire amount of their contributions in a form that was suggested by the needs of the College in the course of its building. W. D. Garth, for instance, furnished many feet of dressed plank in return for the release of his pledge; Reuben Maury supplied a large quantity of farm products on the same acceptable condition; so did

Garland Garth; and so did James Dinsmore with his work as contractor.¹ As we shall see, a small number of the subscriptions, chiefly because of death, insolvency, or emigration, remained unpaid until as late as 1824, when a collector was appointed at a handsome percentage to obtain by suit or solicitation such as had not as yet been settled. In order to swell the amount that was confidently expected from the subscription list, the Board of Visitors, at the meeting held on May 5, 1817, approved the plan for the lottery which had been drawn up by the trustees of Albemarle Academy; and they instructed the proctor to carry it into execution at once through such agents as he should appoint. The proceeds of the sale of the voluminous tickets were to be deposited in the Bank of Virginia in Richmond. It is to be inferred that the lottery scheme remained in abeyance, for there is no reference to any income acquired by this means. The passage of the bill, in 1818, providing for the establishment of a university, and appropriating an annual fund of fifteen thousand dollars for its support, may have caused the lottery to be put off indefinitely.

XII. *Plan for the Buildings*

But a far more important transaction of the Board at this meeting was the adoption of Jefferson's plan for the buildings. This plan, it seems, had been carefully

¹ The following also obtained an acquittance in the like manner.

John Dunscomb, bacon	\$45.75
Edward Anderson, plaster	19.80
C. Everett, oats	29.00
J. H. Terrell, corn	55.00
Thomas Draffin, plank	45.00
J. C. Ragland, medical services	42.60
N. H. Lewis, plank	8.25
Reuben Maury, plank	10.99

thought out by him many years before.¹ We learn from a letter which he wrote the architect, Latrobe, in 1817, that he had formed his general idea of an academic village about fifteen years before, in response to a request from Littleton Waller Tazewell, at that time a member of the General Assembly, which was then disposed to consider the founding of a university for the State. It was this plan which he had submitted to the trustees of East Tennessee College in 1810, when they had asked of him an appropriate design for that institution; he had then described it as follows: "a small and separate lodge for each professorship, with only a hall below for his class, and two chambers above for himself; these lodges to be joined by barracks for a certain portion of the students, opening into a covered way to give a dry communication between all the parts, the whole of these arranged around an open square of grass and trees."

The same plan,—except that one side was left open,—was submitted to the trustees of Albemarle Academy and accepted by them. The exact description of it as adopted by the Board of Visitors of Central College was in these words: "a distinct pavilion or building for each separate professorship; these to be arranged around a square; each pavilion to contain a school-room and two

¹ Semmes, in his biography of John H. B. Latrobe, refers to an article written by Bernard C. Steiner on the subject of the Rev. Samuel Knox. In this article, Steiner expresses the belief that Jefferson was influenced by Knox's *Essay on a System of National Education* in reaching a decision as to the proper constitution and style of architecture for the University of Virginia. Dr. Fiske Kimball, in a letter to the present writer, makes the following comment on this suggestion: "When one comes to examine, with open mind, the architectural proposals of Knox,—a series of concentric squares facing inwards, with a tower in the center,—the certain resemblances which Steiner picks out seem insignificant compared with the fundamental difference of type, especially when Jefferson's preliminary studies, rather than the finished product, are taken into consideration."

apartments for the accommodation of the professor's family, and other reasonable conveniences." It will be perceived that there was, in this curt statement, no reference at all to a Rotunda on the north line of the square; indeed, the original scheme called for no difference whatever between that line and the other lines in the general character of its buildings.

In drafting this first plan of his academical village,—which was to contain pavilions on each closed side of the square, with dormitories between,—there were two practical advantages that Jefferson kept clearly and constantly before him. The foremost was that this arrangement would sensibly diminish the possibility of serious loss by fire. Had the dormitories and the professors' apartments been crowded into one large building, there would have been a perpetual hazard of the structure being burnt up as a whole; this fate did overtake the central building of the University of Missouri in 1893; and, in 1895, it also befell the Rotunda and its annex at the University of Virginia itself. In the time of Jefferson, there was less facility for smothering an incipient conflagration, and the danger of one was then far more justly alarming because of its certain fatal consequences, should it occur. But the second and most influential reason in Jefferson's mind for the academic village was the ability which this plan created to prolong the east and west lines of the square indefinitely. He was forced to consider the economic aspects of the situation primarily from the point of view of the cost of supplementary buildings. The scheme of a square open at its southern end was nicely adapted to the financial condition of the College; one pavilion or two pavilions, ten dormitories or twenty, could, from year to year, or decade to decade, be added on to the east and west side, or to both sides, as the in-

crease in the number of students, in the course of time, should justify it. Suppose that, instead of this flexible arrangement, one large dormitory building had been erected. Did that allow in itself room for extension? Either an unsightly wing would have to be attached, or a second two-story barrack would have to be constructed, a combination that would hardly have conformed to those canons of taste which were sacred in Jefferson's eyes.¹

With his acute sense of architectural beauty and his taste for building, his mind must have been elated by the prospects of gratifying both, which opened up to him when the Visitors of Central College, on May 5, 1817, recorded their approval of his noble plan and appointed Cocke and himself a committee with full authority, jointly or severally, to carry it out in detail. Not since the completion of Monticello had he possessed such an opportunity to show his extraordinary aptitude for architecture, without being trammelled by the intervention of others. In his designs for the Capitol at Richmond, and for public edifices in Washington and private residences in Virginia, there was always some one with the power to modify or push aside his recommendations. In this new field, he was quite as unhampered as he was in constructing his own home, for Cocke, his colleague on the building committee, while he did not, from a practical point of view, approve the plan in many particulars, never undertook to interfere or obstruct;² and this seems to have

¹ Another advantage, which, in his opinion, it possessed was that it would diminish the chances of infection. He thought also that one large structure would absorb too great a proportion of the building fund.

² "The more I see and reflect upon the plan and details, the further I find myself from joining you in your admiration of it. Depend upon it, if you live to see it go into operation, its practical defects will be manifest to all." Cocke to Cabell, December 8, 1821. That at least one of these defects became irksome to the members of the Faculty as early as September, 1826, is demonstrated by their urging upon the Board, at that time, the expediency of attaching to each pavilion the two

been the attitude also of the Board of Visitors as a whole. All recognized with Madison that the whole scheme of the University belonged to Jefferson, and that his wishes in regard to it should govern their action without question or dispute.

Jefferson wrote to Cabell, his most sympathetic correspondent, that, in his judgment, a remarkable "material basis" for the University was necessary "for its intellectual superstructure." It will be recollected that he had once asserted that it was not more costly to build a beautiful house than to build an ugly one, and he tacitly refused to contract his general plan on the score of economy except to take brick or stone as a substitute for marble, which alone was really in harmony with his splendid design. There was a time, even in the history of Central College, when he was harassed with the thought of his inability to secure the funds which he needed for his projected pavilions and dormitories, but this prospect never caused him to draw back to a commoner level. Indeed, his disposition, after the projec-

adjoining dormitories. "The occupation of these dormitories as at present by the students," they said, "subjects the professors to noise and interruption when preparing for the discharge of their official duties, and always breaks in on the privacy of their families. Nor does the good character of those who may occupy such dormitories afford any security against these inconveniences, as they are all subject to be visited by the idle and disorderly, over whom they can exercise no control. The neighborhood of a professor, so far from proving a check to their irregularities, either loses its first influence from familiarity, or by the very sense of restraint it imposes, provokes a spirit of defiance and renders many disorderly for no other reason than to show they are not afraid to be so. The necessary occupations of a family must also sometimes prove an interruption to the student, and yet oftener afford an excuse to the many who gladly seek one for a relaxation of diligence. Such a state of things cannot but encourage habitual disrespect to the professors, and in many ways lead to unfriendly feelings between them and the students. They cannot forbear to express the conviction that the smaller the number of students who are permitted to occupy the rooms on the Lawn, the more favorable it will be to the good order of the institution as well as to the comfort of themselves and their families."

tion of the first pavilion, the plainest of all, was to grow more ambitious in the character of his principal structures as a means of further enhancing the beauty of the whole group. That group, when finished, was, as we shall see, to be marked by great variety, not only in small details, but in general outlines; and it was in planning this variety that his architectural talents had found the widest scope for exercise and gratification. He did not disguise to himself the fact that this variety, by its striking combinations, would arouse the opposition of the ignorant and tasteless from its very novelty. "That the style and scale of the buildings," he remarked in one of his reports to the General Assembly, "should meet the approbation of every individual judgment was impossible from the various structure of various minds. . . . We owed the State to do, not what was to perish with ourselves, but what would remain and be preserved through other ages."

The question now offers itself: how far were the details of Jefferson's general plan altered by him at the suggestion of others after the Visitors had authorized the erection of the first pavilion? Up to that date, the scheme in its entirety appears to have been precisely the same as he had formed it in the beginning. So far as we now know, not even a hint had as yet been obtained from any one with any pretension to architectural training. The nearest models to his proposed group in existence were the cloistered retreats in Europe that had come down from the Middle Ages. These were distinguished for similar quadrangles and colonnades, with dormitories or cells opening into covered ways, which ran the whole length of the quadrangles. The real inspiration, however, as we shall see, sprang from another and more ancient source.

But that Jefferson received suggestions after May 5, 1817, when the first pavilion was determined upon, which were reflected in the final construction of some of the buildings, is now very clearly proven. Four days subsequent to the meeting of the Visitors, he wrote to William Thornton, the distinguished architect, whom he had known in Washington: "What we wish," he said, "is that these pavilions, as they will show themselves above the dormitories, shall be models of taste and good architecture, and of a variety of appearance, no two alike, so as to serve as specimens for the architectural lecturer. Will you set your imagination to work, and sketch some designs for us, no matter how loosely with the pen, without the trouble of referring to scale or rule, for we want nothing but the outline of the architecture, as the internal must be arranged according to local convenience? A few sketches, such as may not take you a minute, will greatly oblige us."

It is palpable that Jefferson was seeking, not formal designs that would materially alter the fundamental character of his whole scheme, but simply hints or sketches that would further enhance its beauty by variety. Two sketches seem to have been sent to him by Thornton, accompanied by suggestions, some of which were accepted and others ignored. Thornton counseled that the front of the first pavilion should be supported by arches next to the ground, with Doric columns above the arches; and this advice was adopted; but not so the advice given at the same time, that the lecture-room should be placed at the top of the house, and the height of the house increased,—changes which were recommended to be followed in all the pavilions. Thornton further thought that the roofs of the dormitories should be made to slope outward from a parapet, and that the arcades in front

should be supported, not with piers, but with columns, such as are now to be seen there. An equally important suggestion was that a single Corinthian pavilion should be built on the north line of the square, which would thus become the most conspicuous structure on the three closed sides of that square. Apparently, under Jefferson's original plan, more than one pavilion, with adjacent dormitories, had been designed to fill up the whole of this north line.

Jefferson was not satisfied with Thornton's aid alone, but also wrote to Latrobe, his associate in public building during his Presidency, and perhaps the most competent professional architect in the United States at this time. He gives him the same general description of his plan which he had given Thornton, but with several additional details; thus he mentions the width and depth of each pavilion; and furthermore, points out that there is to be a colonnade running the entire length of all the structures as high as the lower story of the principal ones. As in his letter to Thornton, so in this letter to Latrobe, he asks only for outlines, however loose or rough, of fronts; the interior arrangements, he repeats, will be governed by convenience alone. A few sketches only, he concludes, were desired. Latrobe was so much flattered and gratified by Jefferson's request for assistance, that, unlike Thornton, who replied rather promptly, he delayed his answer until June 17 in order to study the plan which had been submitted to him. So bulky were the drawings that he made in the course of this study that he did not venture to enclose them by mail. Jefferson was visiting his estate in Bedford county when Latrobe's letter reached Monticello; and it was not until July 16 that he acknowledged its arrival. "I did not mean to give you this trouble," he wrote, "but since you have been so kind as to

take it, I shall turn it to good account. I am anxious to receive your first draft as soon as possible because we must immediately lay the first stone, as the first pavilion must be finished this fall."

The magnificent conception of placing a structure of the most imposing character in the middle of the north line had its origin, it would seem, with Latrobe. "The centre building," he wrote on July 24, "ought to exhibit in mass and detail as perfect a specimen of good architectural taste as can be devised."¹ Thornton, it will be recalled, had simply suggested that a single Corinthian pavilion should be erected there instead of the less imposing pavilions, with adjacent dormitories, which had been projected by Jefferson; who seems, however, to have been at once favorably impressed with Latrobe's nobler proposal: "We will leave the north side open," he replied on August 3, "so that, if the State should establish there the university they contemplate, they may fill it up with something of the grand kind." It was characteristic of his architectural taste that the "something" which he finally adopted was on the model of the Pantheon.

The original plan had provided only two rooms for the accommodation of each professor. It has been supposed that Jefferson, having in mind the early principle of the College of William and Mary, favored the employment of unmarried instructors alone, and, therefore, was only inclined to furnish bachelor quarters for each member of the teaching staff. The quick eye of Latrobe caught this defect in the plan at once, but Jefferson, in his reply, explained it away by pointing out that the back-

¹ Latrobe thus describes his proposed central building: "Below, a couple or four rooms for janitors or tutors. Above, a room for chemical or other lectures. Above this, a circular lecture room under the dome."

side of each pavilion was left without windows, in expectation of an addition of two or three apartments, should they be required for a man of family.

The roll of Latrobe's drawings arrived on October 6. Two more pavilions having been authorized by the Board, Jefferson, on the 14th, wrote to him, "We shall certainly select their fronts from these (drawings). . . . Some of your fronts would require too great a width for us because, the aspects of our fronts being east and west, we are obliged to give the largest dimensions to our flanks, which look north and south." The influence of Latrobe is distinctly reflected in pavilions III and V, and it possibly comes out also in several of the pavilions erected after the incorporation of the University; but this cannot be positively stated owing to the loss of the drawings. It is most strongly suspected in pavilion X, which closely follows III; and also in pavilion VIII. While both Thornton and himself left the stamp of their genius on some of the important details of the general design, — Latrobe especially, by his recommendation of pavilions at the angles and of a great dominating building at the central axis, perceptibly modified and improved it, — the credit of the general architectural conception of Central College belongs to Jefferson. His fundamental inspiration lay, not in the suggestions of contemporaries, valuable as they were, but in the monumental works of Greece and Rome as delineated in the plates of Palladio. This fact will disclose itself more clearly when we come to describe the progress of the whole design after Central College had been converted into the University of Virginia.

XIII. *The Actual Building*

The Board of Visitors of the College, it will be recalled, authorized on May 5 (1817) the erection of the first pavilion, and empowered a special committee, composed of Jefferson and Cocke, to supervise the successive stages of construction. The first step was to lay off the plat of ground selected for the site of the institution. It was not until July 18 that Jefferson staked out his plan. The theodolite was fixed in the ground at the middle point of the northern line of the square, on which now rises the circular walls of the Rotunda. In the beginning, there had to be embraced in the survey an area sufficient to allow twenty dormitories to be attached to each of the pavilions projected for the three lines. The same area was still required when the number of pavilions for the east and west lines, respectively, was increased to five, for, at the same time, the number of dormitories to be attached to each pavilion was reduced to ten. At this period, as we have mentioned, the site was simply an open worn-out field rising high and dry by itself, and without any obstructions in the way of trees or bushes. The lay-off was completed under Jefferson's eye, and certainly partly, if not entirely, with his actual assistance. Ten working men, quite probably hired slaves, were promptly turned in to change the surface, with spade and hoe, to the exact condition required for the foundation of the several buildings. The design of East and West Ranges, as distinguished from East and West Lawn, had not yet been considered; the lay-off in the beginning was confined to the present lawn and the sites of the structures that were to confront it.

It was not until October 6 (1817) that the corner-

stone of the first pavilion, the modern Colonnade Club, was put in place. It is a fact tending to arouse some speculation that the site of this pavilion should have been selected at so obscure a point in the lines forming the three sides of the square. Why was it not chosen nearer the northeast or northwest corner? Why not on the ground now occupied by the Rotunda? According to the original plan, no pavilion was to be erected at a corner, but Latrobe seems to have altered Jefferson's resolution in this detail. The suggestion from Thornton in favor of a very handsome Corinthian pavilion at the centre of the northern line, and from Latrobe of a Rotunda there, may also have decided him at this time to reserve this spot for a more imposing use in the future.

The morning that was to witness the ceremony of laying the corner-stone was at first fair, but the clouds later on began to gather; — happily, however, only to disperse and leave the weather clear again. The county and superior courts, with their promiscuous attendance of citizens, set upon business or amusement, were in session in Charlottesville; but when informed of the impending event, the judges left the bench, and accompanied by the crowd of hangers-on, repaired to the scene. The doors of all the stores were locked, private houses shut up, and the entire population of the little town darkened the road to the College. They were animated, some by an interest in learning, some by a spirit of diversion, and some, perhaps, by a desire to gaze at a group of three men composed of two former Presidents of the United States, Jefferson and Madison, and the present incumbent of that office, Monroe. Among the persons who occupied the seats of prominence at the ceremony was David Watson,

a member of the Board of Visitors, who seems, on this occasion, to have shown his first, and, with one exception, his last interest in Central College.

The corner-stone was laid with the customary state by Lodges 60 and 90. Rev. William King was the chaplain, John M. Perry, the architect, and Alexander Garrett, the worthy grand-master. President Monroe applied the square and plumb, the chaplain asked a blessing on the stone, the crowd huzzaed, and the band played "Hail Columbia." Corn was now scattered, and then Valentine W. Southall delivered the address to the general audience. With the grand-master's address to the Visitors, the ceremony was concluded.

Alexander Garrett, as proctor, had already contracted with John M. Perry for the erection of the first pavilion. It was to be built of brick and was to contain one large room on the lower floor, two on the upper, and offices and a cellar in the basement. All the carpenter's and joiner's work was to be done by Perry; and he was also to supply the lumber as well as the ironmongery. Payment was to be made in three instalments: two hundred dollars to be delivered in cash at once; five hundred so soon as the roof was raised; and the remainder when the house was accepted as satisfactorily finished. This contract is interesting for a reason additional to its being the first: it not only bore the signature of Jefferson, but it was witnessed by William Wertenbaker, then a young man, but afterwards to become one of the most useful and honored officers of the institution through more than half a century.

Jefferson had early taken steps in person to procure bricklayers of the highest expertness. With that purpose in view, he, during his sojourn at Poplar Forest, in Bedford county, in the summer of 1817 visited Lynch-

burg, for "they have there," he wrote Latrobe, on July 16, "the new method of moulding the stock-brick in oil, and execute with it the most beautiful brick which I have ever seen."

So dilatory were the workmen in constructing the first pavilion that he grew doubtful as to whether it would be finished before the ensuing January. He rode down to the College on alternate days, although, at this time, in his seventy-fifth year, to quicken the laborers by the stimulus of his presence. "I follow it up," he wrote Cabell on October 24, "from a sense of the impression which will be made on the Legislature by the prospect of its immediate operation. The walls should be done by our next court, but they will not be by a great deal." In the following December, while again stopping at Poplar Forest, he visited Lynchburg a second time to hire bricklayers to construct the two additional pavilions which the Board of Visitors had ordered to be erected. At that time, this class of workingmen were asking fifteen dollars a thousand for laying place-brick and thirty for laying oil-stock, there having been recently a sharp advance in prices owing to the increased charge for corn. Jefferson entered into a provisional engagement with Matthew Brown, a local builder, to pay him as much as was obtainable for similar jobs in Lynchburg; but he hoped that, for a contract involving the purchase and use of three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand bricks, a cheaper undertaker might be found in Richmond; and for that reason he urged Cabell, then attending a session of the Senate, to look about for one in that city. "Pray make a business of it," he wrote, "make such a bargain as you can and inform me immediately." Cabell, although assisted by Major Christopher Tompkins, a builder of experience, was unable to conclude a satisfactory arrange-

ment, and Jefferson, in consequence was constrained to close with Brown.

He preferred to use slate for roofing, and in June, 1818, corresponded with Colonel Bernard Peyton, of Richmond, for the purpose of obtaining a man with sufficient practical information to pass correctly upon the quality of the products of certain quarries in Albemarle county and willing to undertake the contract for covering the pavilions and dormitories, should that quality sustain the requisite test. One Jones, of Wales, who had already done work of this character in Charlottesvills, had removed to Richmond, and it was he whom Jefferson was anxious to employ. It was soon shown that the stone in the strata around the College was not suitable for a delicate tool,—it proved both expensive and tedious to chisel it. In July, 1817, Jefferson had been authorized by the Board of Visitors on his own motion to import a stone-cutter from Italy; he had decided to construct the two additional pavilions on a more ornate and ambitious model than the one followed in the first pavilion; and for this reason, he thought that it would be imprudent to depend exclusively on the domestic workingman, and that he ought to go abroad for the most highly trained skill that could be found there. One of the most competent of the domestic builders was James Dinsmore, whom Jefferson had, in 1798, discovered in Philadelphia and brought to Monticello, where he remained as his principal employee in house joinery for ten years. “I have never known,” said Jefferson, “a more faithful, sober, discreet, honest, and respectable man.” Associated with Dinsmore at Monticello was John Neilson, whom Jefferson had also come to know in Philadelphia, in 1804, and who continued under contract to him during a period of four years. Both of these men were

at one time in the service of Madison at Montpelier; but Neilson was, at the beginning of the building at Central College, engaged in working for General Cocke; and it was not until the construction of the University itself was fully underway that he took an important part in it, in partnership with Dinsmore.

Jefferson was sanguine that the first pavilion, with its dormitories, would be completed before the end of 1817, but it was not finished by August 4, 1818, although it was, on that date, reported to be "far advanced." A second pavilion, with its dormitories too, was expected, — without good reason, however, — to receive the final stroke of the hammer and trowel by the ensuing January (1818).

XIV. *The First Professors Elected*

Long before these pavilions, with their annexes, were built, Jefferson had been revolving the anxious question as to how the professorships were to be filled, and which of them, if necessary, should have the preference. The Board of Visitors, at their meeting on October 7, 1817, — the day following the laying of the corner-stone of the first pavilion, — had decided as to who should be the occupants of the one already going up, and the two additional ones which they had just concluded to erect. The first they determined to set aside for the professor of languages, belles-lettres, rhetoric, oratory, history and geography; the second for the professor of chemistry, zoology, botany and anatomy; whilst the third, until wanted for the remaining professor, should be converted into a boarding house, to be rented to a respectable French family on condition that only the French language should be spoken there by the students in the course of their meals. At the meeting of the Board of Visitors

three months afterwards, there seems to have been a readjustment of this assignment of houses: on that occasion, there were submitted estimates of the cost of four pavilions, with dormitories attached,—the pavilions to be reserved for the use of the professors of languages, physiology, mathematics, and ideology, respectively. It was determined that, should there be, before the following April, a failure to collect the whole amount that was due by written promise,—this being the only fund that was expected to be available for the construction of the buildings,—then the money needed to pay the salaries of the professors of chemistry and languages, the first who were to be appointed, should be obtained by floating a loan with the banks on the security of the property of the College, and the several instalments of the subscriptions as they should fall in.

Writing on January 18, 1800, to Priestley, Jefferson said, "We should propose to draw from Europe the first characters in science by considerable temptations, which would not need to be repeated after the first set had prepared fit successors, and given reputation to the institution. From some splendid characters, I have received offers most perfectly reasonable and practical." It will be recalled that, at one time, he had just reason to be confident that he would be able to secure the talents of Say for a chair in Central College so soon as incorporated; and also that he had sanguinely fixed his eye on other aliens of equal celebrity. It seems like an unexpected and puzzling anti-climax to discover that the first man who was invited to become a professor in that college was a clergyman and an American, Dr. Samuel Knox, of Baltimore; at a meeting of the Board, held on July 28, 1817, several weeks before the corner-stone of the

first pavilion was laid, he was named for the chair of languages, belles-lettres, rhetoric, history, and geography, — a multiplicity of courses that called for the most versatile accomplishments in the teacher. As remuneration for the performance of these laborious duties, he was to receive a fixed salary of five hundred dollars, and the sum of twenty-five dollars for each pupil; and since the field to be traversed by him was wide and popular, the accumulation of fees on this account was expected to be very large.

Dr. Knox, either appalled by the burdens which the task of teaching in so many departments of knowledge would impose on him, or repelled by the non-sectarian character of the projected institution, briefly, vaguely, but discreetly, replied that "he had gone out of business"; which would seem to prove that he had been a professor as well as a preacher by calling. His shadowy figure enjoys this distinction in the history of the University down to the War of Secession: he was the first clergyman who was asked to fill one of its chairs during that period. Some years afterwards, Jefferson appears to have made it plain to Francis Walker Gilmer that, in his search for English scholars, the application of no minister of the Gospel was to be considered with favor.

On October 7, about two months after Knox's refusal, the compass was boxed by the Board of Visitors, under Jefferson's prompting, in extending to Dr. Thomas Cooper, an invitation to become the professor of chemistry and law. Cooper, if not openly and frankly an infidel, was so vague and shiftily in his religious beliefs that he acknowledged that he himself could not state definitely what they were. He seems to have been a very erratic, if not unsavory character, on the whole, in spite of his in-

disputable learning and versatile talents.¹ Jefferson enthusiastically admired him for more than one acquirement. For instance, he was so much impressed by a judicial decision which Cooper had delivered that he predicted, in a letter to Cabell, that it would "produce a revolution on the question treated; not in the present day, because old lawyers, like old physicians and other old men, never change opinions which it had cost them the whole labors of their youth to form; but when the young lawyers sit on the bench, they will carry Cooper's doctrine with them." "The best pieces on political economy which have been written in this country," he added, "were by Cooper. He is a great chemist, and now proposes to resume his mineralogical studies."

Was Cooper the marvelous political economist, jurist, and chemist that Jefferson pronounced him to be? Jefferson's insight was sometimes rather awry, as his unqualified encomiums on Ossian and the obscure economist, Tracy, prove. It is not beyond the range of probability that Cooper's general attainments were overrated by some of the communities of the New World in which he lived simply because their culture was not yet sufficiently discriminating, as in the Old, to detect the superficiality amid the rather glittering pretensions. But whether he was a man of as phenomenal parts as Jefferson and others supposed, it is not to be denied that he had, throughout his career, exhibited a rough contempt for the sentiments and feelings of others; and that discretion in expressing his own views was a quality which he seemed to esteem but little, and show but rarely. He was an Englishman by birth, who had begun his active life as a member of

¹ "I find the impression very general," Cabell wrote Jefferson, Feb. 19, 1819, "that either in point of manners, habits or character, he is defective. He is certainly rather unpopular in the enlightened part of society."

the bar; and even in his youth, was so radical and so rampant in his opinions that he was sent on a sympathetic mission to Revolutionary France as the representative of eight British democratic clubs. He became a friend and disciple of Priestley at an early date on account of their similar relish for scientific researches, for unorthodox religious beliefs, and for a freedom in political affairs that verged on extreme republicanism. Priestley suffered for his liberal opinions by their bringing down on his head the fury of the mob that pulled his Unitarian chapel to pieces and set the torch to his home. In his very natural disgust, he resolved to seek an asylum in the less heated atmosphere of the United States; Cooper, who also found Birmingham at this time an uncomfortable spot, accompanied him; and both settled in a quiet back region of Pennsylvania.

Jefferson had been first interested in Priestley in consequence of his heterodox writings, which had largely influenced his own religious creed; and he had been further drawn to him by the fact that he was one of the first persons of his nation to perceive the importance of physical science in education. The religious and political persecution to which he had been ruthlessly subjected recommended him still more warmly to Jefferson, who detested every form of oppression, intolerance, and injustice, no matter how erratic, unworthy, or humble the object of it might be. Association with Priestley in scientific tastes, and in a common martyrdom for opinion's sake, was all that was needed to rivet his good-will and respect for Cooper, now a citizen of Pennsylvania, and this was further justified by the reputation which Cooper had won as a judge, and afterwards as a professor in Dickinson College and a lecturer in the University of Pennsylvania. He is said to have been imprisoned at one time by the

Federalists, doubtless under the Alien and Sedition Acts; and this, naturally enough, further magnified his merits in the eyes of Jefferson, whose feelings towards that party, it will be recalled, were tempered by little of his customary philosophy. The Board of Visitors, when they convened on October 8, 1817, in order to secure Cooper's services, by making it most advantageous to his pecuniary interests to accept their appointment, agreed to reimburse him for the expense of transporting his collection of books and minerals to Central College, and to continue to pay him interest, at the rate of six per cent., for the use of his philosophical and chemical apparatus and mineralogical specimens, until there should be surplus enough (after the indispensable charges upon the funds of the College had been defrayed) with which to buy the entire quantity; and should this surplus not arise within a defined time, then the purchase was to be made with money to be borrowed from the banks. The cost of materials needed in the course of the chemical lectures was to be taken over by the Board.

Jefferson was made very sanguine by this liberal offer, and on the 14th, about a week later, wrote cheerfully to Francis Walker Gilmer, "Our Central College looks up with hope. Cooper, I think, will accept a professorship in it. We are in quest of a Ticknor for languages, but have not yet found one. If left to ourselves, we shall be better than William and Mary, but if the Legislature adopts us for the University, we will then be what we should be. I have considerable hope they will do it and at the coming session."

These words let out into the light an important, if not the principal, reason for Jefferson's urgency in hurrying the first three buildings to a finish and for his premature nomination of professors: he wished to be in a

position to say, just so soon as the discussion over the establishment of a university should begin in the General Assembly at its approaching term, that Central College was now, in reality, a working institution, in possession of teachers, dormitories, and pavilions; and that it only needed the necromantic touch of the wand of the State treasury to expand almost at once into a great seat of learning. It will be recalled that he did endeavor to turn the property of the College over to the Commonwealth by the bill for general education, which he submitted in the winter of 1818; that effort failed, as we have seen; but a second was to end in the desired success, at the meeting of the Assembly in the winter of 1819, by the adoption of the Rockfish Gap Report.

By his shrewd stroke of making the Governor of the State the patron of the College, Jefferson secured the tactical advantage of laying before the General Assembly annually a complete record of those proceedings of the Board of Visitors which formed the history of the institution during the previous twelve months. This offered a regularly recurring opportunity of arousing an interest in the College in the minds of the persons who had the most power to serve it. In the report for January 6, 1818, he dwells on the plans that had been adopted for filling the several chairs. "Our funds already certain," he wrote, "will enable us to establish, during the ensuing season, two professorships only with their necessary buildings; and to erect a pavilion, and — if the outstanding subscription papers fulfil our hopes, — the dormitories also for a third; depending for the salary, as well as for the salary and buildings for the fourth, on future and unassured donations. The four are to be languages, mathematics, physiological and ideological sciences." Each of these important professorships, on account of

its fixed remuneration of five hundred dollars, and the cost of the pavilion and the dormitories to be attached to it, would call for an expenditure at the start of at least \$8,333.30. Jefferson was not at all content with the thought of limiting the number of chairs to four, as he was aware that it would be impossible for this number of instructors to find the time to teach in every subdivision of the extensive and pregnant subjects which would be assigned to them. "To do this as it should be done," he said, "to give all its development to every useful branch of all the departments, and in the highest degree to which each has already been carried, would require a greatly increased number of professors, and funds far beyond what can be expected from individual contributors. For this, the resources at the command of the Legislature alone is adequate."

xv. *Fight Against Cooper*

By February, 1818, the prospect of retaining Cooper had become overclouded. An acute hostility to his appointment had already been expressed by members of the religious denominations. During the following autumn, after the Report of the Rockfish Gap Commission, in favor of converting Central College into the State University, had been drafted for delivery to the General Assembly, Abbe Corrèa endeavored to strengthen Cooper's position by trumpeting his great attainments. "Learning and love of science and of its diffusion," he wrote Francis W. Gilmer, "are as different as light and caloric. They are not always united. I have met through life many a phosphoric savant who did not communicate heat. Judge Cooper does both." The University having been chartered, his reappointment came up

again for discussion by the Board at a meeting held at Montpelier, the home of Madison. In the teeth of weather graphically described by General Cocke as the "most snowy that he had ever seen," Jefferson rode on horseback over the clogged country highways to be present; he was now close upon his seventy-sixth birthday; but neither the infirmities of old age, nor obliterated roads, nor a nipping wind, were suffered to create insurmountable obstructions to the journey. It was not simply that he wished to hasten the progress of the buildings, — he was acutely interested in Cooper's prompt reelection because that would allow two professorships to be inaugurated practically at once.

Chapman Johnson, one of the most astute lawyers of the State, and a very accomplished and winning man, had taken David Watson's place on the Board. He, together with Cabell and Cocke, were averse to Cooper's reappointment. Cabell had written to Jefferson and hinted a doubt about the expediency of the choice, but if he was employed, said he, he should not be permitted to come alone. Nevertheless, Cabell thought that Jefferson should be sustained if he had committed himself to Cooper; and this seems to have been Johnson's attitude, too, when he learned from R. H. Lee, of Staunton, — who had been one of Cooper's pupils, — that his character was entitled to unquestionable respect. Cocke, however, was not so much inclined to yield, though pained by the position in which his conscientious objections put him. "The thought of opposing my individual opinion," he wrote Cabell on March 1, 1819, "upon a subject of this nature against the high authority of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, has cost me a conflict which has shaken the very foundations of my health, for I feel now as if I should have a spell of sickness. But I could not act

otherwise, for if I had expired under the trial, I should have held out to the last."

Jefferson, however, was not to be turned in his resolution; he urged that the new institution was bound in law to enter into a contract with Cooper, should he accept the proposal which had been made to him.¹ "Moreover," he added with the extravagance which tinged his impressions quite frequently when the spirit of the partisan was aroused in him, "Cooper is acknowledged by every enlightened man who knows him to be the greatest man in America in the powers of his mind, and in acquired information, and that without a single exception. I understand that a rumor unfavorable to his habits has been afloat in some places, but I never heard of a single man who undertook to charge him with present or late intemperance, and I think rumor is fairly outweighed by the counter-evidence of the great desire shown at William and Mary to get him; that shown by the enlightened men of Philadelphia to retain him; and the anxiety of New York to get him; that of Corrèa to place him here, who is in constant intercourse with him; the evidence I received on his visit here, when the state of his health permitted him to eat nothing but vegetables and drink nothing but water; his declaration to me at the table that he dared not drink ale or cider or a single glass of wine, and this in the presence of Corrèa, who, if there had been any hypocrisy in it, would not have failed to tell me so."

Jefferson carried his point, and on March 29, 1819,

¹ Writing to Cabell Feb. 19, 1819, Jefferson says, "Our engagement with Dr. Cooper obliges us to receive him, and I shall propose to let an usher of our nomination and under our patronage, give a grammar school for the senior classes in Charlottesville on his account altogether, receiving nothing from the College. In that case, Cooper may take the highest or higher classes and may open his law school."

Cooper,— who, it will be remembered, had been elected professor of chemistry and law in Central College,— was appointed to the diversified chair of chemistry, mineralogy, natural philosophy, and law, in the recently incorporated University; he was guaranteed a salary that was not to fall short of \$3,500 in amount; and the Board agreed to purchase his apparatus at cost, and twenty-five hundred specimens of his mineralogical collection at fifty cents apiece. Furthermore, the annual expense of all articles consumed in the experiments of his chemical lectures was to be defrayed by the institution, provided that it did not exceed two hundred and fifty dollars. There was but one condition in modification of this contract; namely, that payment for the mineralogical specimens was to be deferred until more schools had been created, and more professors engaged; but, in the meanwhile, an annual interest of six per cent. was to be paid on the sum of the purchase money. When this liberal agreement was entered into, there was a prospect that the first lecture would be delivered at the University in the spring of 1820; but by October, 1819, it was clearly foreseen that this would be impracticable, and the Board, through the committee of superintendence,— Jefferson and Cocke, — so informed Dr. Cooper; who consented to put off the commencement of his duties to a later date, without any compensation beyond the advance of fifteen hundred dollars for his subsistence. This was to be deducted from the first instalment of salary after he should begin to discharge his functions; but he reserved the right to occupy a pavilion in the meanwhile. Jefferson, who, in the first instance, had been too impatient to contract with him, looked upon these terms as moderate and reasonable. Cocke, the other member of the committee, demurred to Cooper's establishing his domicile at the Uni-

versity before he could be usefully employed there, since it was calculated, he said, "to injure the institution at a time when it stood in need of every friend who could rally around it."

The deep aversion of the religious sects now again raised a threatening voice. Cooper had published an edition of Dr. Priestley's works, in the preface to which he had given expression to views flagrantly unorthodox.¹ Dr. John H. Rice, editor of the justly influential *Evangelical Magazine*, who, as we shall soon see, had taken an energetic part in creating a popular sentiment favorable to the passage of the University bill, came out with a vigorous but temperate article condemning Cooper's employment as a teacher of youth. The quotations which he submitted from Cooper's writings were such as to shock the minds of a conservative people like the Virginians; and he was, therefore, sustained by public opinion in the assertion that, as the University was a State institution, the different denominations who joined in supporting it had a right to be offended by the selection of professors whose heresies struck, as they thought, at the foundations of "social order, morals, and religion." Jefferson's choler was quickly and thoroughly aroused by these clerical reflections on Cooper, who, he declared with bitterness, had been charged with Unitarianism "as presumptuously as if it were a crime." "For myself," he wrote General Robert B. Taylor, "I am not disposed to regard the denunciation of these satellites of religious inquisition"; but his colleagues differed in view from him, and when the mortified Cooper offered his resignation,

¹ "I fear that Cooper's appointment," William H. Cabell wrote to his brother, Joseph, March 21, 1820, "will do the University infinite injury. His religious views are damnable, as exhibited in a book published by him shortly after the death of Priestley. You will have every religious man in Virginia against you."

they wisely and discreetly accepted it. He received the remainder of the fifteen hundred dollars promised him, of which seven hundred and fifty had already been anticipated by him. His final communication with the Board was marked by both dignity and manliness: "Whatever my religious creed may be, and perhaps I do not exactly know it myself, it is a pleasure to reflect that my conduct has not brought, and is not likely to bring, discredit on my friends."

Jefferson did not disguise his chagrin over this miscarriage. "I have looked to him," he wrote General Taylor, in May, 1820, "as the corner-stone of our edifice. I know of no one who could have aided us so much in forming the future regulations for our infant institution, and although we may hereafter procure from Europe equivalents in the sciences, they can never replace the advantages of his experience, his knowledge of the character, the habits, and manners of our country, his identification with its sentiments and principles, and the high reputation he has obtained in it generally." Such was the unlucky upshot of the only formal arrangement which was entered into to procure a professor for Central College. The contract was passed on to the University, where it ended in the disaster which has been described. The later experience with Professors Long and Key, who did not remain until the end of the terms for which they were employed, confirms the pertinency of Jefferson's reasons for so ardently wishing to engage Cooper so far as those reasons related to his residence of many years in the country, and to his sympathy with Republican doctrines and institutions. From other points of view, his resignation, perhaps, was no cause for regret. He seemed to flourish most in a storm-centre created by himself; but that was not the atmosphere which would have

brought respect and prosperity to an infant seat of learning, with a reputation yet to be made and confirmed.

XVI. *The Bill for Conversion*

In the midst of all these plans for building pavilions and dormitories and engaging professors, how did Jefferson expect to acquire the funds which would be needed for so many purposes? The subscription list was his only immediate reliance, and knowing how slender and inadequate it was, he began to direct a wistful eye towards the State treasury, which now possessed, in the Literary Fund, a source of large income for the benefit of public education. He was convinced that no institution of permanent importance could be sustained by private contributions alone; and this, as we have already pointed out, was a powerful motive with him in hastening the completion of the College, for as long as it was without pavilions, dormitories, and instructors, no appeal could be made to the General Assembly for assistance with any prospect of success.

When, in the winter of 1817-18, Jefferson's bill for general education was submitted, with an alternate clause for the adoption of Central College as the university then talked of, Cabell hoped that, should that clause be ignored and no university authorized, a separate bill asking for an appropriation for the College would be more fortunate. "I have often observed," he wrote shrewdly to his chief at Monticello, "a disposition in the Assembly to console the disappointed by granting them something on the failure of a favorite scheme. Miserable omen for science and literature that their friends should fly to such a sentiment on such an occasion, yet it would be better to do this than to fail altogether." It was his plan, should

the conversion be refused, to obtain an annuity, ranging from \$3,500 to \$5,000, from the Literary Fund for the College, to be used for the support of its professorships, while the money from the subscriptions might be reserved for the construction of the buildings. But he soon found that there were many obstacles in his path. On February 6, 1818, he again wrote to Jefferson, "The friends of Staunton and Lexington wish to keep down the Central College. I believe that they would oppose the appropriation of a dollar to it. Should it get even a little amount, it would be established, and one year more would throw Staunton out of the chase altogether, and Lexington in the background. For these reasons, I think the back country will oppose a small appropriation to the Central College with nearly as much zeal as it would the establishment of the University at that place."

After struggling against this illiberal attitude, and witnessing the defeat of Jefferson's bill, Cabell became so much disheartened that he doubted the expediency of petitioning for the desired annuity at this session. "Let it be done at the next," was his frequently reiterated advice. Such was the character of the present House, he said, that it was questionable whether it would grant the College even the right to hold a lottery. "Certain interests," he continued, "have conspired to cause the Assembly to turn its back on literature and science. A portion of the middle country delegation, by cooperating with these interests, have darkened our prospects on this occasion. These, it is thought, are opposed to the Central College, partly because of their hostility to some of the persons who support it, or from other motives but little more commendable. It is of infinite importance to the best interests of the State to send some able and virtuous men to the next Assembly." And again he said,

"If I had the cooperation of some four or five men, such as I could describe, everything could be effected." And again, "Our only safe course is to look around and select suitable persons and to try and prevail on them to come into the next Assembly. It is a subject of infinite delicacy and should be handled with great discretion."

Whilst Jefferson's bill, which really aimed at the conversion of Central College into a State university, was thrown out at this session, nevertheless an Act was passed, as a substitute, that authorized the establishment of a great seat of learning for the whole Commonwealth, and the selection of a commission to choose its site. The struggle for that site was to be adjourned to Rockfish Gap, and the conference there was to be attended by Jefferson. For the first and last time in the history of this protracted controversy, he was to be present in person on the ground where the battle was actually fought; and the complete success which crowned his participation in that occasion, demonstrates that the influence of his tongue could be quite as powerful as the influence of his pen, whenever he considered it wise to exert it.

THIRD PERIOD

THE BUILDING OF THE UNIVERSITY

1. Rockfish Gap Commission

It was on February 21, 1818, that the bill for the establishment of a State university received the final approval of the General Assembly. The clause providing for the choice of the site was vague and general: it simply required that it should be "convenient and proper"; and as these words left a broad field for selection, the decision was really reserved for a Board of twenty-four Commissioners. This Board was to be appointed, not by the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, but by the Governor and Council. Cabell used his influence to have this latter method adopted because he looked upon it as the first important step towards the designation of Charlottesville as the site; for was not the Governor a citizen of Albemarle, and in picking out the Commissioners might he not be biassed by that fact to nominate men known to be friendly to the selection of Central College?

But there was another fact quite as auspicious: a Commissioner was to be chosen from each senatorial district, and the districts situated east of the Blue Ridge were more numerous than those lying west. With the rivalry narrowed down to Staunton, Lexington, and Charlottesville, the local partizanship of the eastern majority would probably tip the scale on the side of Charlottesville even should the Commissioners from beyond the mountains,

who were in the minority, cast their votes as a body in favor of a western site.

But Cabell was not satisfied with creating all these propitious conditions in advance: he was acutely solicitous that Jefferson should serve as a member of the Board; and that he should induce Madison to consent to his appointment also. The influence of these two distinguished men, Cabell rightly anticipated, would carry extraordinary weight with their associates. Deeply interested as Jefferson was in the approaching conference, he debated with hesitation for some time the wisdom of his becoming a Commissioner. "There are fanatics both in religion and politics," he said in reply to Cabell, "who, without knowing me personally, have long been taught to consider me as a rawhead and bloody bones; and as we can afford to lose no votes in that body (General Assembly), I do think that it would be better for you to be named for our district. Do not consider this to be a mock modesty. It is the cool and deliberate act of my own judgment. I believe that the institution would be more popular without me than with me, and this is the most important consideration, and I am confident that you would be a more efficient member of the Board than I would be." Cabell submitted Jefferson's candid suggestion of his own unfitness to a parley of their friends, who decided unanimously and wisely in favor of Jefferson's nomination as the Commissioner of the Albemarle district. Madison was appointed for the Orange district. Their fellows on the Board were men of substance, distinction, and influence. The full membership of that body embraced Creed Taylor, of Cumberland, Peter Randolph, of Dinwiddie, William Brockenbrough, of Henrico, Archibald Rutherford of Rockingham, Archibald Stuart, of Augusta, James Breckinridge, of Botetourt, Henry E. Watkins, of Char-

lotte, James Madison, of Orange, A. T. Mason, of Loudoun, Hugh Holmes, of Frederick, Philip C. Pendleton, of Berkeley, Spencer Roane, of Hanover, James M. Taylor, of Montgomery, John G. Jackson, of Harrison, Thomas Wilson, of Monongahela, Philip Slaughter, of Culpeper, W. H. Cabell, of Buckingham, N. H. Claiborne, of Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, of Albemarle, W. A. G. Dade, of Prince William, William Jones, and four other Commissioners, who sent word that they were unable to be present to take part in the deliberations. But it was remarked at the time that the absentees represented that part of the State which had always been loyal to the College of William and Mary.

The specific duty imposed on this Board by the Legislature was to report to that body (1) a site for the University; (2) a plan for the building of it; (3) the branches of learning which should be taught therein; (4) the number and character of the professorships; and (5) such general provisions for the organization and government of the institution as the General Assembly ought to adopt. All these requirements were precisely in harmony with Jefferson's wishes, and they had quite probably been indirectly, through Cabell, proposed by him. An additional clause in the Act,—which, no doubt, caused him equal satisfaction, as increasing the chance of Central College winning the coveted prize,—authorized the Board to “receive any voluntary contributions, whether conditional or absolute, in land, money, or other property, which may be offered through them to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund for the benefit of the University.”

On Saturday, August 1, the Commissioners assembled at the Rockfish Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains. This spot had been selected as lying on the great natural line

of division between the western and eastern sections of Virginia; and as the Gap was crossed by a public road that was very much frequented, and was near the centre of the State, it could be reached by an equality of exertion from the Potomac and the Carolina border, from Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio River. In our own age of rapid, easy, and constant transit by steam, it is difficult to take in fully the inconveniences and discomforts which all the Commissioners had to endure in order to attend the Conference. There were lines of stages, it is true, running from Richmond to Western Virginia, and from Lynchburg to Washington, or the reverse, but it was necessary for many of the Commissioners who were not travelling in their own carriages to go some distance before they could connect with one of these cumbrous public coaches. After it had been caught at some small roadside tavern, a journey of two days was required, in some instances, before the Gap could be reached. The rough jolting, the deep stallings, the blinding dust, and the inclement weather, which was so often encountered in these primitive vehicles, must have been irksome and fatiguing to men already past their prime. General Breckinridge, of Botetourt, Mr. Claiborne, of Franklin, and Mr. Taylor, of Montgomery, who were compelled to come all the way from the Southwest, or Judge Cabell, Judge Creed Taylor, or Mr. Watkins, from the equally remote Southside, quite probably traversed the intervening ground in their own carriages, driven by their own servants. Mr. Holmes, of Frederick, Judge Jackson, of Harrison, Mr. Pendleton, of Berkeley, and Mr. Wilson, of Monongahela, were able to make the journey more easily, whether by stage or private coach, since good turnpikes had been constructed through the Alleghanies and down the Valley; but not so with those whose homes were situated

east, south, or north of Charlottesville, for, in these regions of the State, the roads were often in a condition of aboriginal imperfection. August was chosen as the month for the Conference, not only because the weather was certain to be then at its best, and the highways more passable, but also because the larger number of the persons to attend it were judges or lawyers, who, during that month, were in the habit of taking their annual vacation. This too was the time of the year when the mountain resorts were most visited, and some of the Commissioners, following their annual custom, could, after participating in the Conference, continue their journey to the Sulphur, the Hot, or the Sweet Springs.

There was not within the bounds of the Commonwealth a more romantic prospect than the one which was unrolled before the gaze of the Commissioners as they climbed up from the side of the Valley or of Piedmont to the tavern that stood in the Gap. Here, towards the north and towards the south alike, the peaks of the chain rose to a cloudy height; and far below, in every direction of the compass, the region spread out like a gigantic map,—the great Valley on the one hand, and on the other, a landscape broken by foothills, plateaus, forests, streams, and cultivated lands, as far as the eye could reach. The country, in this double picture, promised in its extensiveness and in its fertility even more than it, at this time, actually possessed, for it was still only sparsely inhabited in comparison with the surface of the Old World. The little company of thoughtful men, who, on the first day of August, 1818, looked down on that wide panorama, from the green mountain flanks, might justifiably enough have been meditating more on its future than on its present, in associating it, and all the territory beyond, with the university which they were about to define in

character and fix in site. Where they saw an hundred people now, there would be a thousand tomorrow; and they were not too sanguine in anticipating that the seat of learning which they were about to locate, would shed its kindly light, either directly or indirectly, over them all for centuries.

But if the magnificence of the views from these mountain heights was in harmony with the noble enterprise which they had come to launch, the actual place of meeting was plain and democratic enough to suit the birthplace of a popular university. It was a tavern, spacious and comfortable, but like all its fellows of that day lacking in pretension to even the simplest elements of architectural beauty. Around it, however, there must have been always a scene of extraordinary liveliness, for the regular stages, private carriages, and the jingling caravans of canvas-covered wagons, with their ribbon-bedecked teams, passing in a broken stream eastward and westward, halted there to allow the horses to be fed or watered, and the travelers to breakfast or to dine. This customary animation was conspicuously increased by the arrival of the Commissioners, so many of whom had brought with them their own coaches and servants. Never, indeed, before had there been such a throng of distinguished citizens under its roof.

There has been handed down the tradition that the first session of the Conference was held in the large public dining-room, an apartment which possessed no other pieces of furniture besides a long, rough table and numerous well-worn split-bottom chairs, such as were then in common use in the log-huts of the mountaineers. Jefferson, the most eminent member of the Board, was promptly chosen to preside; and it was, perhaps, in some measure, due to his moderate and urbane spirit that the

proceedings were, from start to finish, characterized by so much smoothness and harmony. There was a sharp antagonism in the views advanced as to the proper site for the new university, but no bitterness entered into this diversity of opinion; or if it really existed below the surface, it was held in check by the silent force of the quiet and impartial bearing of the chairman, who, as all were aware, was so earnestly in favor of Charlottesville's selection, and yet who did not permit an opposing partisanship in others present to ruffle his temper or to color his decisions. "If any undue influence (in favor of Central College), was exercised," Judge T. G. Jackson, the Commissioner from the Harrison district, has recorded, "there certainly never was an instance of greater forbearance or moderation in its exercise. Mr. Jefferson did not even intimate a wish at any time or in any shape except when his name was called and his vote given."¹

The choice to be made did not concern simply the welfare of literature and education. Had that been the sole issue, the dignity of it would have explained the self-restraint shown in the discussions of the body; but there was an inflammatory political question involved, which was known to all, whether or not frankly mentioned and discussed, for every man present was convinced that the choice of a site for the University would give a powerful bias to the choice of a site for the new Capital, should the General Assembly determine to abandon Richmond as it had formerly deserted Williamsburg. The antagonism which such a thought was so calculated to raise did

¹ Letter from Judge Jackson to Cabell, Cabell Papers, University Library. Its date is December 13, 1818. Judge Jackson kept a record of the proceedings of the Conference. Correspondence with his descendants in West Virginia has failed to disclose whether this diary is still in existence.

not crop up in word or act; and there was apparently a common desire, even in pushing individual and sectional preferences, to do so in a spirit, and in a manner, worthy of the great purpose which had brought them together. The first day of the session seems to have been given up to a debate on the advantages which each of the three places canvassed,—Staunton, Washington College, and Central College,—possessed as a site for the projected university. It was admitted by all that there was no difference in the fertility and salubrity of the respective regions in which they were situated; the decision, therefore, rested upon the two vital points: (1) which of the three could offer the most opulent inducements in the way of buildings and endowments; and above all, (2) which of the three was nearest to the centre of the State. If any proposal was made in the name of Staunton by her representative, Judge Archibald Stuart, it was only done in the form of a promise of a future appropriation of money and land; but Washington College and Central College alike were in a position at once to contribute substantially, in both buildings and endowments, to the new institution, should either be chosen as its site. Washington College offered to transfer one hundred shares in the stock of the James River Company, the thirty-one acres on which its buildings were standing, its philosophical apparatus, its expected interest in the funds of the Cincinnati Society, the libraries of its two debating societies, and three thousand dollars in cash. In addition, the people of Lexington at large gave their bond to contribute the sum of \$17,878. But a more valuable donation still was the estate of 3,331 acres of agricultural land, twenty-two acres of suburban property, fifty-seven slaves, and all his remaining personalty, which John Robinson, a citizen of Rockbridge,

would convey to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund for the benefit of the university after his death, should Washington College be preferred.

The offer submitted by the Central College was also an imposing one. It consisted of its entire possessions: the one hundred and ninety acres purchased of Perry; a pavilion and its dormitories "already far advanced"; a second pavilion also, with its appendix of dormitories, which was to be completed before the end of the year; the proceeds in hand of the sales of two glebes, aggregating \$3,280.86, and of a subscription list of \$41,248. The whole of this last amount had not yet been collected, and it was also subject to deductions for sums due under existing contracts. A deed conveying these several properties to the Literary Fund had already been executed and recorded in the clerk's office of Albemarle county.

The value of the estate offered by Washington College as compared with the value of the one offered by Central College,—had the difference between the two been accepted as the final test in the choice of a site,—would have given the superior claim to the institution in which Jefferson was so zealously interested. But he was not satisfied to rest his chances of winning the prize on this foundation alone; the query in the minds of the Commissioners which he knew was to shape their decision more powerfully than any other was this: which of the three sites lies nearest to the centre of the State's population? Having fully anticipated this controlling point, he came amply fortified with statistics to uphold his contention in favor of Central College. It required little shrewdness on his part to foresee that Lexington, and not Staunton, was the formidable rival which had to be overthrown, for Lexington alone of the two had substantial advantages in buildings and endowments to offer

at once. The information which he was now to use so effectively had been collected with characteristic comprehensiveness and minuteness: through Alexander Garrett, he had written to each court clerk in Virginia, and from him obtained a statement of the distance of his county-seat from some well known town in the State, whilst additional facts relating to transportation, highways, and population had been gathered up from the same or similar obscure but reliable sources. With this mass carefully sifted and skilfully arranged to guide him, he had patiently and industriously constructed a large map, which indicated alike the geographical centre of the State and the centre of its population. This map was the most esteemed part of his baggage in his journey to Rockfish Gap.

During the progress of the debate which sprang up on the subject of centrality the first day, Jefferson sat in silent attention to it until the arguments on that point for and against Staunton, Washington College, and Central College had caused such confusion in the minds of the Commissioners that they appeared entirely incapable of arriving at an accurate and common conclusion. It was at this critical moment that he modestly drew forth that innocent-looking blunderbus, his map, and quietly spread it out for the inspection of the body.¹ While the vote was not taken at this sitting, there is reason to think that the evidence, so unostentatiously presented in this graphic form, proved so unanswerable that it brought about the decision announced a few days afterwards.

What did the map demonstrate? First, that, if a straight line was drawn from the mouth of the Ches-

¹ Recollections of Alexander Garrett. See Letter of George W. Randolph to Dr. James L. Cabell, Cabell Papers, University Library. The map is said to have been made of cardboard.

peake Bay to the Ohio River, by way of Central College, Rockfish Gap, and Staunton, there would be a difference of only 15,000 individuals between the population south and the population north of its course. On the other hand, the number of persons inhabiting the region north of a line drawn from the same point through Lexington to the Ohio River was 91,009 in excess of the number residing south of that line. There were 150,121 more white people to be found to the east of a line drawn from south to north along the crest of the Blue Ridge than were to be found to the west of it. Draw the like north and south line through Staunton, and the numerical superiority in favor of the east would be 221,733. Draw it again through Lexington, and the eastern majority would be 175,191. If, however, it was drawn through Central College, the majority would be only 36,315. In other words, whether the line was drawn from east to west, or south to north, through Central College, the numerical difference between the two sections of the divided population would approach nearest to equality.¹ On the other hand, if the decision was to be governed by a comparison of distances, then the argument in its favor was quite as strong, according to the figures of the same necromantic map. From Staunton to the boundary line of North Carolina, as the crow would fly, was one hundred and twelve and a half miles, and from Staunton to the Potomac, one hundred and ten,—a difference of two and a half miles. In the case of Lexington, the difference between the two like reaches was fifty-two and a half miles. On the other hand, the difference in the case of Central College was only eleven and a half miles,—about nine miles more than marked the situation of

¹ These figures are given in a statement by Cabell among the Cabell Papers in the University Library.

Staunton, but forty-one and a half miles less than distinguished that of Lexington. It was Lexington, not Staunton, which caused Jefferson the most serious apprehension, and it was the pretension of Washington College that he was really aiming to prick.

There has long been a tradition that, besides securing these convincing statistics in support of his claims for Central College, he hunted down the name of every man and woman in Albemarle county, who had passed their eightieth mile-stone, and presented the list, which was of extraordinary length, to the Conference as a proof that the salubrity of its climate was as productive of Methuselahs as ancient Judea. Doubtless, some jocularly was excited by the reading of this list, but it did not strike the less straight to its mark because of that genial accompaniment.

After carefully examining the map, the Commissioners agreed to defer their decision as to the site from Saturday until Monday, and in the meanwhile, a very distinguished committee was appointed to draw up the statement required by the General Assembly touching the plan of the buildings, the courses of instruction, the number of professors, and the provisions for organization and government. Its members were Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, General Breckinridge, Judges Roane, Stuart, and Dade. Now, there was not in Virginia, at this time, an equal number of men more competent to draft the necessary recommendations within a period of forty-eight hours than these seven Commissioners; but the principal contents of the report that was submitted would seem to prove that it had been composed by the brain of Jefferson alone,—not under the roof of the tavern where they were assembled, but in the philosophical and stimulating quiet of Monticello. No doubt, the manuscript of most

of its clauses had accompanied the map to Rockfish Gap, under cover of the same portmanteau stored away in the boot of his carriage. If any amendments to these particular parts were offered by members of the committee, no record of that fact has survived; and all had probably too much discernment to think that any change would improve the substance of that remarkable document.

At least two additions to it, however, were made after Jefferson's arrival on the ground: first the offer of the Board of Trustees of Washington College and the provisional donation by John Robinson; and second, the insertion of the name of Central College as the place finally adopted as the site for the projected university. This decision was reached in the course of the meeting of the Commissioners on Monday. When the votes were counted, it was found that Breckinridge, Pendleton, and John M. Taylor had expressed a preference for Lexington; Stuart and Wilson for Staunton; and the remainder of the Commissioners for Charlottesville. The selection of the latter site was then unanimously confirmed, in a spirit of harmony worthy of the highest demands of popular education, which all were anxious to advance in spite of natural local aspirations. A conciliatory attitude had distinguished the members of the Conference throughout their deliberations, upon which Jefferson commented in feeling language at the close. Adjournment did not take place until Tuesday, August 4. In the meanwhile, the report had been read and adopted.

II. *The Report*

In writing to John Adams, several years afterwards, Jefferson somewhat modestly declared that the Report consisted simply of "outlines addressed to a legislative

body, and not of details, such as would have been more suitable had it been addressed to a learned academy." But however briefly and succinctly couched, it is perhaps the most pregnant and suggestive document of its kind that has been issued in the history of American Education. Few men of his day had given the penetrating and discriminating thought to the subject which he had done; here, in a very narrow compass, will be found the kernel of every conviction that he had reached as to the proper college architecture, the true aims of both elementary and advanced instruction, the branches of learning that should be taught in a university, the inadvisability of sectarianism in its management, the methods of governing its students, and the duties which should be incumbent upon its board.

As this report was drawn with direct reference to the University of Virginia, and afterwards shaped the general character of its whole system, a synopsis of its most salient features will be distinctly pertinent to our subject. In proposing a plan for the architectural setting of the institution as required by the Legislature, Jefferson simply repeats the scheme which he was already carrying out in the lawn, pavilions, and dormitories of Central College. To it, however, he adds a large building "in the middle of the grounds," which was his earliest public foreshadowing of the present Rotunda. With respect to the branches of learning to be taught in the new seat of learning, he first dwells upon the conspicuous benefits to accrue from elementary and advanced instruction respectively, and combats the perverse idea of those persons who consider the sciences as useless acquirements, or at least, such as the private purse alone should pay for. On the contrary, he said, a great estab-

lishment in which all the sciences should be embraced was far beyond the means of the individual, and it must either derive its being from public patronage or not exist at all. In such an establishment, the following courses should, in his judgment, be introduced: (1) the ancient languages, including Hebrew, as well as Latin and Greek; (2) the modern languages,—French, Spanish, Italian, German and Anglo-Saxon; (3) mathematics,—algebra, fluxions, geometry, and architecture; (4) physico-mathematics, mechanics, statics, dynamics, pneumatics, acoustics, optics, astronomy and geography; (5) physics or natural philosophy, chemistry, and mineralogy; (6) botany and zoology; (7) anatomy and medicine; (8) government,—political economy, history, and the law of nature and nations; (9) municipal law; and (10) ideology,—general grammar, ethics, rhetoric, belles-lettres and the fine arts.

Jefferson was regretfully aware that, without more preparatory schools than existed in Virginia at that time to train the youths who intended to enter the University, its standards in the ancient languages,—tuition in which he so highly valued,—would necessarily be damaged. No greater obstruction to that particular study, he remarks in the Report, could be suggested than the presence, the intrusion, and the noisy turbulence of small boys; and, said he, if they are to be permitted to go to the University to acquire the rudiments of these languages, they may be so numerous that the characteristics which should belong to it as a seat of higher learning, will be submerged in those of an ordinary grammar school. He pressed upon the consideration of the General Assembly the expediency of erecting a system of intermediate academies, for, unless they were set up, the

University would be overwhelmed with pupils not at all fitted by their previous schooling to uphold its scholarship.

The proposal of a course in Anglo-Saxon was a novel one in those times, when its study was confined to a few private investigators. "It will form," he said, "the first link in the chain of an historical review of our language through all its successive changes to the present day; and will constitute the foundation of that critical instruction in it which ought to be found in a seminary of general learning." He candidly admitted in the Report that only a single professor for both medicine and surgery was possible at first, as the population of Charlottesville and the surrounding region was not as yet sufficiently large to justify the erection of a hospital, where students would enjoy the practical advantage of clinical lectures and surgical operations. Only the theory of medicine and surgery as a science was to be taught. Anatomy, however, was to be fully covered. The Report, in addition, recommended that no chair of divinity should be established, for to do so, it said, would be repugnant to that principle of the Constitution which puts all religious sects on a footing of equality. It advised that, for the present at least, only ten professors should be chosen, and that a maximum for their salaries should be determined. Whilst no formal provision for gymnastics was suggested, the expediency of encouraging manual exercise, military manoeuvres, and tactics in general, was urged; so also was instruction in the arts which embellish life, such as dancing, music, and drawing; and finally,—and this was perhaps the most original feature of the Report,—it proposed that training in the handicrafts should be given.

From some points of view, the most distinctly Jeffer-

sonian recommendation was the one that a system of government should be devised for the students which should be entirely devoid of every form of coercion. All sense of fear should be banished. "The human character," so the Report asserted, "is susceptible of other incitements to correct conduct more worthy of employ and of better effect. Pride of character, laudable ambition, and moral dispositions are innate correctives of the indiscretions of that lively age. A system founded on reason and comity will be more likely to nourish in the minds of our youth the combined spirit of order and self-respect."

The Report, still following closely Jefferson's previously expressed opinions, further recommended that all questions concerning qualifications for entrance, the arrangement of the hours of lecture, the establishment of public examinations, the bestowal of prizes and degrees, should be entrusted to the board of visitors. It also laid down the additional duties of this board, the most important of which were represented to be: the general care of the buildings and grounds, and the other properties of the University; the appointment of all the necessary agents; the selection and removal of professors; the prescribing and grouping of the courses of instruction; the adoption of regulations for the government and discipline of the students; the determining of the tuition fees and dormitory rents; the drawing from the Literary Fund of the annuity to which the University would be entitled; and the general superintendence and direction of all the affairs of the institution. The Report, in closing, advised that the board should convene twice a year; that it should nominate a rector; and that it should enjoy the right to use a common seal, to plead and be impleaded in all courts of justice, and to receive subscriptions and donations, real and personal. Appended to

the document were two statements,— one indicating the amount of property which John Robinson was willing to devise to Washington College, should it be chosen as the site of the new university; the other, the amount which the Central College was ready to deliver at once, on the same condition as to itself.

III. *Struggle for the University Site*

Not until November 20, 1818, did Jefferson send the Report on to Cabell, the representative of the district in the upper chamber, to whom it was now intrusted for delivery to the proper officials. Cabell's first step was to print the manuscript, and his next, to hand one copy of it to the President of the Senate and another to the Speaker of the House. On the second morning of the session, it was brought to the attention of both bodies, and its reading,— so we are informed by William F. Gordon, now a member of the General Assembly, and a staunch supporter of the University scheme,— was followed by exclamations of "universal admiration." A bill was promptly introduced in the lower chamber to carry into effect the recommendations of the Report. This bill was under the patronage of Mr. Taylor, of Chesterfield county, who had been selected by the pilots of the measure because he seemed to be entirely disentangled from the meshes of local interests and ambitions. Opposition was expected from the start by Cabell and Gordon, who were marshalling the partizans of Central College,— the one in the Senate, the other in the House. The bill, with the Report appended, was referred to a select committee which contained a majority in favor of passing it; and a further auspicious condition was that the

delegation from the region of the Kanawha River were frankly well disposed towards the measure.

The advocates of the Lexington site in the committee urged, with persistence, that the clause recommending Central College should be expunged, and a blank substituted for it; and also that the bill should be held back for more careful scrutiny before this blank should be filled up. The members from Rockbridge in the committee were especially vehement in questioning the correctness of Jefferson's way of arriving at the centre of population. They were supported by Chapman Johnson, who represented Augusta county in the Senate. He asserted in the presence of Cabell and Gov. Preston, that, to start the line of division at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, "was to make it nearer to the southern than to the northern side of the State." This suggestion seems to have worried Cabell, and he at once wrote to Monticello for information to combat it. In his reply, Jefferson acknowledged, what was obvious, that at its commencement, the line was nearer to North Carolina than it was to Maryland; but was not the area towards the north entirely occupied by water without any inhabitants except numerous fish and many wild fowl? "Wherever you may decide to begin," he added, "the direction of the line of equal division is not a matter of choice. It must from thence take whatever direction an equal division of the population demands; and the census proves this to pass near Charlottesville, Rockfish Gap, and Staunton."

Some of the advocates of Lexington shrewdly laid off the southern half of the State in the form of a parallelogram and the northern half in the form of a triangle. This method, Jefferson gently intimated, was suggested

by ingenious minds seeking to force the situation in favor of their preferred site. As the whole State was in a triangular shape, why should not each half be made to conform to that fact instead of only one? If the line of equal division was drawn straight from east to west, Lexington would be thrown out of the contest at once by its distance from the centre of population. Not so Charlottesville. Run that line north and south,—again would Lexington be thrust out, but again would Charlottesville successfully stand the test. “Run your lines in whichever direction you please,” exclaimed Jefferson, triumphantly, “they will pass close to Charlottesville, and for the good reason that it is truly central to the white population.”

At the third meeting, the Committee declined to strike the words “Central College” from the bill. The measure was then reported to the House in its original form; but here it again ran upon the ugly snag that had threatened to wreck it in the committee room: the advocates of Lexington again disputed the correctness of Jefferson’s calculations, and demanded that the vote upon the bill should be deferred until they had been given an opportunity to refute them. Cabell soon began to feel doubt as to its passage, for he had found out that the party opposing the acceptance of the Central College site,—which consisted principally of the delegation from the West,—had decided that, should they be unable to substitute Lexington for Charlottesville, they would endeavor to overthrow the whole university scheme; and in this course, they counted on the support of those members who favored the permanent breaking up and dispersal of the Literary Fund.

Cabell plucked up heart once more when privately informed by his colleague in the Senate from Clarksburg

that the entire delegation from the Northwest with one exception,— twenty-one members,— had determined to stand by the recommendation of the committee; this was about the 17th of December; and although Christmas was so close at hand, and most of the members were departing for their homes, when not too remote, he decided to stand to his post in Richmond. His health had been so much undermined by his assiduity that he was advised to spend the holiday season at Williamsburg with his wife's family, for the sake of the change; but he emphatically refused to do so. "Even if the danger of my life existed which my friends apprehend," he said, "I could not risk it in a better cause." He urged the supporters of the bill in the House to hold it up until the opening of the New Year. At the same time, he was very much alarmed lest his opponents should continue to gain strength by wily intrigue and unscrupulous bargaining. Once more, indeed, he began to fear the complete failure of the measure through the working of these malignant agencies. He was fully aware that, in the strongly cohesive delegation from the eastern counties, there were at least twenty-six members who were expected, under the influence of their loyalty to the interests of the College of William and Mary, to show themselves hostile to the establishment of a university at all, by casting their votes against the bill, whether in the original or the amended form. There was thought to be but one provision that could ward off this blow: the appropriation of five thousand dollars annually to the use of that institution. This was Cabell's not unprejudiced impression, for the antagonism which he had to overcome had left him in an exasperated and jaundiced mood. "The best informed of these partizans of the ancient college," he wrote Jefferson, "whilst they, their sons, connections, and

friends have been educated at William and Mary, quote Smith, the *Edinburgh Review*, and Dugald Stewart, to prove that education should be left to individual enterprise, the more ignorant part pretend that the Literary Fund has been diverted from its original object,—the education of the poor,—and accuse the friends of the University of an intention to apply all the funds to the benefit of the University.”

Some opposition to Charlottesville, as the site for a great seat of learning, was expressed by a small circle of thoughtful and enlightened members on the ground that, as it was simply a village and remote in its situation, it would offer no social advantages to draw thither distinguished professors; nor could it, for the same reason, serve to polish the manners of the students, furnish them with the needed accommodations, or bring forward sufficient physical force to put down large bodies of young men, should they fall to rioting.

By January 1, 1819, the delegates from the Valley had united in solid rank against Central College, and nearly one-half of the delegates from the region west of the Alleghanies had joined their company. In addition, the delegates from the southeastern part of the State were inimical; and there were members in the same mood who were scattered throughout the representation from the other districts. Cabell, bracing himself against a rising feeling of dismay, urged all the friendly absentees to hasten their return, and in the meanwhile, he sought encouragement in the loyalty of his supporters on the ground. “I consider the establishment of the University,” wrote John Taliaferro, of the Lower House, as he was about to set out from Fredericksburg for Richmond, “of more vital consequence to the State than the sum of all the legislation since the foundation of the government”;

and this was also the spirit of the men who had remained at their posts. "I had indulged the hope," wrote William F. Gordon to his wife on Christmas day, "that I could have gone home about this time, but the importance of our University bill is so great to Virginia, and particularly to Albemarle county, that I feared to leave it." In a letter to Jefferson a few days earlier, Cabell had said, "I have passed the night in watchful reflection and the day in ceaseless activity. . . . I have conveyed from person to person intelligence of our view, and endeavored to reconcile difference of opinion and to create harmony. . . . I have called on and influenced the aid of powerful friends out of the Legislature, such as Roane, Nicholas, Brockenbrough, Taylor, and others. I have procured most of the essays in the *Enquirer*."

Within a few weeks, this persistent spirit had forced a favorable turn. Absent friends came to his assistance. Especially assiduous and energetic among these were Captain Slaughter, of Culpeper, and Mr. Hoomes, of King and Queen; but above all, Chancellor Green, who, on the day of his arrival, sat up with him until three o'clock in the morning. The foremost purpose now was to contrive a plan to break the assaults of the delegates from the Peninsula; and it was in consequence of such prolonged mental strain and constant loss of sleep, that Cabell suffered, at this crisis, an attack of blood spitting, which lasted, without interruption, for a period of seven or eight hours.

The ablest and most disinterested of all Cabell's coadjutors, outside of the Assembly itself, in this protracted contest, was the Rev. John H. Rice, the most distinguished Presbyterian divine in the State. Perhaps his most notable service at this time took the form of a letter over the signature of *Crito*, which he contributed to

the issue of the *Enquirer* for January 9, 1819. "Ten years ago," he wrote, "I made certain inquiries on the subject (the pecuniary loss to Virginia from the absence of a State university) and ascertained, to my conviction, that the amount annually carried from Virginia for purposes of education alone exceeded \$250,000. Since that period, it has been greater. Take a quarter of a million as the average of the last eight and twenty years, and the amount is the enormous sum of \$7,000,000. But had our schools been such as the resources of Virginia would have well allowed, and her honor and interest demanded, it is by no means extravagant to suppose that the five States that border on ours would have sent as many students, as under the present wretched system, we have sent to them. Thus this reaches another amount of \$7,000,000. Let our economists look to that 14,000,000 of good dollars lost to us by our parsimony. Let our wise men calculate the amount outside of our losses, and add it to this principal."

Dr. Rice made no plea for a particular site for the University, because he thought that this should be decided by the General Assembly, of which he was not a member; but his reasoning for the creation of the institution itself was a powerful influence towards the overthrow of the unscrupulous propaganda then prevailing that would have shut out Central College by undermining the whole project of setting up a great seat of learning. A searching discussion of the several clauses of the bill took place in the Committee of the Whole of the House on January 18 (1819), and all the arguments in support of, and in opposition to, its different provisions were elaborately presented. A determined attempt was again made to discredit the statistics of Jefferson's map showing the centre of population in the State; but when the

last speech had been finished, and the motion was put whether the clause relating to Central College, as the proposed site of the University, should be accepted or discarded, the vote stood sixty-nine in favor of rejection and one hundred and fourteen in favor of retention. The brilliant Briscoe G. Baldwin was then a delegate from Augusta, of which Staunton, one of the competitors for the University, was the county-seat. So soon as the decision of the House was announced, he rose from his chair, and, in proposing that the bill should be adopted unanimously, appealed to the Western delegation to dismiss all local prejudice, to repress all spirit of partizanship, and to join with the majority in acquiescing in the entire measure as it stood. His speech was so eloquent in its utterance of the noblest patriotic emotions that most of his hearers were melted to tears. Cabell, who had been present in the chamber before the roll was called, had retired to avoid the shock to his feelings, should the upshot be adverse. The final vote on the passage of the bill was taken on the following day (January 19), and only twenty-eight of the one hundred and sixty-nine members present persisted in their opposition.

William C. Rives, a delegate at the time, expressed to Cocke his gratified surprise at what he described as the "unexpected result" of the voting. "You have seen from the newspapers," he wrote on the 20th, "the vigorous and persevering attempts that were made on the floor of the House to repeal it (the University bill). The efforts that were employed out of doors to defeat it by intrigue were not less vigorous, and possibly were more alarming, because more difficult to be met and counteracted."

On the 21st, the measure, having reached the Senate, was referred to a very able committee. When at last

reported, a motion to strike out of the text the choice of Central College was lost by a vote of sixteen to seven. It finally passed the Senate on the 25th by a vote of twenty-two to one, an indication of more enlightened views in that body as a whole than prevailed in the House. The discussion of its different provisions had continued uninterruptedly through two days; and so strenuously did Cabell participate in the debate that a blood vessel in his lungs, which he had formerly ruptured, opened again, and he was compelled to sink to his seat.

The opposition to the bill, as we have seen, had its origin in a variety of hostile influences, some of which were directed against the acceptance of Central College as the site and some against the establishment of the University at all, because supposed to be repugnant to the interests either of the College of William and Mary or of the poor in the distribution of the income of the Literary Fund. At the bottom of the antagonism, there was present a distinct political motive. The desire to obtain the site of the Capital, should Richmond be abandoned, prompted many of the delegates from the Valley to cast their votes against the selection of Central College, for it was generally anticipated that the Capital and the University would, in the end, be located together. There was also a lingering antipathy to Jefferson himself, in spite of his venerable age and long retirement from public life. This feeling, however, was not shared by many. William C. Rives expressed the more generous attitude of the majority towards him when he said, "Among the many sources of congratulation that present themselves on this occasion (the passage of the bill), it is not the least with me that the man to whom this country of ours owes more than to any other that ever existed, with

the exception of Washington, lives to see the consummation of all his wishes in the establishment of an institution which will be a lasting monument to his fame."

Jefferson himself received the announcement of the realization of his hopes of so many years with the philosophical moderation so characteristic of him when his faculties were not disturbed by the red flag of Federalism or Sectarianism. "I sincerely join in the general joy," was his brief and simple reply when the news had been conveyed to him.

IV. *The First Board of Visitors*

The Act establishing the University of Virginia, after accepting the conveyance of the lands and other property belonging to Central College, laid down with minuteness the necessary prescriptions for the number of Visitors, their appointment, their powers and duties, the courses to be taught, and the number, salaries, and accommodations of the professors. Substantially, the Act followed the recommendations of the Rockfish Gap Report in every particular, and it will, therefore, not be requisite to add to the synopsis of that Report which has been given. The most vital provision of the original bill for the creation of a university was retained: the annuity was again fixed at fifteen thousand dollars. Among the characteristic features of the subsequent government of the institution which were not foreshadowed in the Act was the chairmanship of the Faculty, and the great power which its incumbent was to exercise in the management of its affairs. The Board of Visitors were authorized in a general way "to direct and do all matters and things which to them shall seem most expedient for promoting the purposes" of the new seat of learning, and it was

under this clause that this unique method of administration came into existence.

The first Board of Visitors,—which, as the Act required, was appointed by the Governor,—consisted of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John H. Coöke, Joseph C. Cabell, Chapman Johnson, James Breckinridge, and Robert B. Taylor. The Board of Central College, it will be recollected, embraced only five members, and all of these, with the exception of David Watson, were transferred to the new Board. Of the three new additions, two were lawyers of the highest standing for learning, probity, and astuteness, and the third a citizen equally conspicuous for ability and public services. There seems to have been no undertaking to divide the membership among the different sections of the State, but the homes of several were notwithstanding widely dispersed: Taylor resided in Norfolk, Johnson in Staunton, and Breckinridge in Botetourt county. There was not a single Visitor from the region of country lying west of the Alleghany Mountains,—the reason for which, quite probably, was that, in those times of stage coach and private carriage, there was small prospect of even a rare attendance at the sessions of the Board of a member who had to traverse the long road from the valley of the Kanawha or the Monongahela. Johnson and Breckinridge were also, in their homes, remote from Charlottesville, but both were constantly passing through on their way to Richmond to be present at the sessions of the General Assembly or the terms of the Supreme Court. The original plan of Jefferson was to ask for the appointment of men who resided within convenient reach of the University; but this was modified by the action of the Governor and Council, who thought it wise to select only a majority of the Board from the neigh-

boring region and the remainder from the other parts of the State. This had a tendency to diminish the chance of sectional carping; and it also conferred on the institution the distinction of being governed by a larger number of influential public men than could be found within the bounds of any single group of counties. The line of exclusion seems to have been drawn in the first appointments sharply against judges and members of Congress; but in the course of time this rule was entirely abandoned as to the latter at least.

The last meeting of the Visitors of Central College was held on the 26th of February, 1819. They had been impowered by the University Act of January 25 to perform their former functions until superseded by the coming together of the new Board. The proceedings of this meeting were far from being merely nominal, in anticipation of the early extinction of the old Board; at least three of its members belonged to the new; and they perhaps felt that they were an expiring body only in law and not in fact. Jefferson was present, and through his influence, no doubt, the necessary measures were adopted to ensure the continuation of the building, since upon this he had always laid the primary stress. It was resolved (1) that the funds of the University remaining after the payment of current expenses, should be applied to the erection of additional pavilions and hotels; (2) that workmen for this purpose should be contracted with at once before the season had advanced too far to secure the services of the number required; (3) that the funds in hand, or in prospect, would justify entrance into engagements for the building of at least two more pavilions, one hotel, and as many additional dormitories as the amount left over would allow; (4) that Alexander Garrett should be retained as the treas-

urer, with the authority to act as bursar also; and that he should receive from the State the annuity payable for the present year (1819).

Central College, as a working corporation, came to an end on March 29, 1819, when the new Board, with a full attendance of members, convened for the first time. The transition was merely nominal; there was nothing radical in the spirit of the change; it continued to be the same institution, under the same guiding and controlling hand. Its aims were the same, and so were its principles. Jefferson now felt more confident of the successful consummation of his long matured plans for a really great seat of learning; and this was perhaps the only alteration in his outlook for the institution on the broader stage of operation upon which it had entered. Even the social customs of the old Board were to be those of the new so far as his hospitable instincts could bring it about. "It has been our usual course," he wrote to General Taylor, when inviting him to Monticello, "for the gentlemen of Central College to come here the day before the appointed meeting, which gives us an opportunity of talking over our business at leisure, of making up our views on it, and even of committing it to paper in form, so that our resort to the College, where there is no accommodation, is a mere legal ceremony for signing only."

The officers chosen by the Board at their first memorable session were Thomas Jefferson, rector, Peter Minor, secretary, Alexander Garrett, bursar, and Arthur S. Brockenbrough, proctor. Jefferson and Cocke were re-appointed members of the committee of superintendence. The Board promptly adopted the recommendations of the Visitors of Central College at their last meeting; namely, that all but necessary current expenditures

should, in the beginning, be restricted to building, and that as little as possible should be reserved for the engagement of professors, until a sufficient number of pavilions, hotels, and dormitories had been provided to accommodate them and the pupils expected.

At this time, there was a considerable body of land, laid off in two lots and owned by John M. Perry, lying between the tracts,—one of forty-seven acres, the other of one hundred and fifty-three,—which had been acquired by Central College, and transferred to the infant university. The Board, on March 29, instructed the committee of superintendence to purchase this intervening area on the condition of a deferred payment; and it was due to this complication, perhaps, that it was not until January 25, 1820, one year later, that Perry conveyed the first lot of forty-eight acres; and not until May 9, 1825, more than five years afterwards, that he signed the deed to the remaining lot of one hundred and thirty-two acres. The first lot was improved with a dwelling house and curtilages, and its value was estimated as high as \$7,231.00. The second lot was assessed at \$6,600.00. The payment, even in instalments, of these large sums imposed on the resources of the University an irksome burden for several years. The acquisition, however, was rendered compulsory by the fact that the springs which supplied its cisterns were situated a little without the observatory tract owned by it, whilst the communicating pipes had been run entirely within the boundaries of Perry's property before reaching the actual site of the University itself. At any time, the owner of that property could order the removal of the pipes and thus cut off the natural reservoir from use. Jefferson had long been aware of this possibility, but until the institution was incorporated, was lacking in the means to remove

it. One of the first provisions of the new Board, under his inspiration, was to arrange for this purchase, which, when accomplished, put an end to the risk of future interference.

An additional section of land,—presumably situated between the present Staunton Road and a parallel line running west and east in front of the north portico of the Rotunda, aggregating about eight acres,—was bought in 1824, from Daniel A. Piper.¹ These four parcels of land increased to the extent of one hundred and eighty-four acres the domain already in the possession of the University. Another addition was made in 1824: a small parcel was bought of Mrs. Garner. This also was probably situated on the present Staunton Road, and if so, lay west of the present Gothic Chapel.

v. Course of Construction

Although Central College had been raised to the platform of a university, the general outline of the original plan of building underwent but few alterations. Jefferson had drafted that plan for a broad and populous seat of learning, and now that this consummation of his hopes was assured, he had but to push to a termination what he had long ago conceived, and what he had already substantially begun. The scheme of construction which he submitted to the General Assembly in the Rockfish Gap Report made no addition to the scheme in harmony with which the carpenters and bricklayers were already at work in the old Perry field: and in the letter written by him to William C. Rives, only three days after the

¹The description in the deed runs as follows: "On Rockfish Road in a right line with west side of West Street 462 feet from hotel A A on West Street." Tradition says that the old Staunton Road wound around near the University cemetery to assure a better grade.

University was incorporated, he simply canvasses the ability of the Board of Visitors to provide during that year for the building of two pavilions, with their dormitories, besides those already in course of erection. It is true that the Report referred specifically to an edifice of large size "in the middle of the grounds," to be used for certain purposes carefully enumerated, but, as we have already pointed out, this structure, in the form now known to us, had been suggested, in a general way, by Latrobe, and accepted as a part of the plan.

The first and only really important modification that was made in the setting was in April, 1820, when Jefferson, confronted with the necessity of choosing the site of the first hotel, decided that he would not place it on an extension of the Lawn in alignment with the pavilions, but instead would erect it on what was afterwards named Western Back Street, now West Range. Thus began the existing array of four instead of two parallel rows of buildings. In the original draft, the distance from the eastern line to the western was seven hundred and seventy-one feet; but, in fixing the sites of the pavilions, Jefferson contracted the interval. The addition of hotels and dormitories, in the form of parallel East and West Ranges, enabled him to return to the dimensions of the original plat. He seems to have at first intended that each of the lateral ranges should have its front in precise correspondence with the front of that side of the Lawn; and he was ingenious enough to devise a scheme by which the denizens of these lateral ranges could be prevented from peering from their front windows into the ugly premises in the rear of the adjacent parallel pavilions and dormitories. But the expense of carrying this out was shown to be so great that he ultimately determined to change the plan to the one after-

wards followed, in which the East and West Ranges, facing outward, turn their back yards upon the back yards of the Lawn. Another modification of the original plan left the projected Rotunda with a lawn on either side. These two small areas of open ground, which, with the actual site of the Rotunda itself, had, in Jefferson's earliest scheme, been reserved for pavilions and dormitories, were, in the end, occupied by wings, which, during many years, were in normal use as gymnasias.

Taking the noble group of buildings in the mass as completed, they enable us to understand clearly Jefferson's purpose of teaching the principles of architecture by example in this new seat of culture. It will be recalled that, in the Rockfish Gap Report, he had recommended the study of the fine arts; but the General Assembly, in the Act of Incorporation, had pointedly omitted that theme in enumerating the courses of instruction. Jefferson got around this tacit injunction by persuading the Board of Visitors to enter military and naval architecture among the subjects to be taught in the school of mathematics. It was, however, in the peculiarities of the surrounding buildings that the fundamental lessons of the art were to be learned. "The introduction of chaste models," he wrote to William C. Rives, "taken from the finest remains of antiquity, of the orders of architecture, and of specimens of the choicest samples of each order, was considered as a necessary foundation of the instruction of the students in this art." And so highly did he value this aspect of the University edifices that he urged upon the same correspondent,—at this time a distinguished member of Congress,—that the capitals and bases recently arrived from Italy should be exempted from custom duties because they were designed as much

for illustration as for practical use. With perfect propriety, said he, these monuments might have been placed "in our museum for an indefinite period." This was not done, he added, "because we thought that, to show their best effects, they would nowhere be exhibited so advantageously as in connection with their columns and the super-incumbent entablature. We, therefore, determined that each of the pavilions . . . should present a distinct and different sample of the art. And these buildings being arranged around three sides of a square, the lecturer, in a circuit, attended by his school, could explain to them successively these samples of the several orders."

There was another practical reason which Jefferson gave in justification of that splendid but costly architectural scheme. It was his conviction that, without a "distinguished scale in structure," to employ his own words, foreign scholars of celebrity would hardly be willing to accept chairs in so new an institution. This was a somewhat fanciful notion, for certainly the only alien professors who ever occupied those chairs apparently made no inquiry at all as to the character of the University's architecture, when they entered into their engagements. The prestige of this seat of learning, in our own country, was unquestionably enhanced from the start by its noble physical setting, and this, perhaps, has had a calculable influence in securing for it, throughout its history, the services of the ablest and ripest American scholars.¹ It is quite possible,—and it is no discredit to Jefferson to say so,—that he would have followed the plan which he did adopt even if there had been no practical recommenda-

¹ It has, undoubtedly, had a profound influence in preserving the alumni's affection for, and increasing their pride in, their alma mater, the University of Virginia.

tions for it, such as he was led to bring forward to combat the weight of the ignorant provincial criticisms leveled at it. He himself had said that it was as inexpensive to build a beautiful house as it was to build an ugly one. Within the privacy of his own breast, he probably agreed with good judges of subsequent generations in thinking that the architectural charm of the University of Virginia, like the immortal poet's thing of beauty, was a joy forever in itself that called for no additional reason to justify its existence.

The entire setting of the original group was classical in its character. Beginning at the head of the West Lawn, it will be found that Pavilion I was an adoption of the Doric of the Diocletian Baths; Pavilion III, Corinthian of Palladio; Pavilion V, Ionic of Palladio; Pavilion VII, Doric of Palladio; and Pavilion IX, Ionic of the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. Beginning again on the east side of the Lawn and descending from the north end, we observe Pavilion II, Ionic, after the style of the same temple; Pavilion IV, Doric of Albano; Pavilion VI, Ionic of the Theatre of Marcellus; Pavilion VIII, Corinthian of the Baths of Diocletian; Pavilion X, Doric of the Theatre of Marcellus; and the Rotunda, after the Pantheon at Rome.

Jefferson reduced, modified, and adapted to new purposes, but still preserved with fidelity, the art of the originals, both in their lines and in their proportions. His inspiration, in general, was derived from Palladio, but when his own judgment, in any instance, suggested a departure, he did not shrink from following it, and in doing so, exhibited always precision and certainty. Sometimes, he preferred a simpler form, as in his copy of the pilasters of the Temple of Nerva, because he thought that it was "better suited to our plainer style." It has been said of

him, in his relation to the architecture of the University, that, instead of working, like the disciples of Inigo Jones, downward from Palladio to the debased Georgian imitations of the classic, he worked upward from that great artist to the purest and most refined types of the classic. "He removed from the classic forms of the Cæsars," says Dr. Lambeth, summing up his merits in this particular in a remarkable phrase, "the architectural rubbish of the centuries." His bent was towards the Roman classical, when all or nearly all his contemporaries exhibited a leaning towards the Georgian, Italian, Vitruvian, Gothic, or Renaissance styles. In his report to the General Assembly in November, 1821, he modestly declares that he had no "supplementary guide but his own judgment"; and while he does not seem to have looked for even grudging approval in the general public, yet some instances of high and generous appreciation of the beauty of his buildings soon came to his knowledge to gratify him. John Tyler, the younger, being a citizen of the Peninsula, and residing not far from the College of William and Mary, had not been friendly to the University, yet after inspecting the completed group, he was "so much impressed with the extent and splendor of the establishment," according to Judge Semple, who reported his words to Cabell, and Cabell to Jefferson, that he regretted that he had not been a member of the last Assembly to vote for the cancellation of its bonds.

The same feeling of admiration was aroused in other men of culture who visited the spot at this time, although the Rotunda, the most imposing of all the structures, was not yet fully completed. Thus Garrett Minor, writing to Cabell, in 1822, said, "I was much pleased and delighted with the beauty, convenience, and splendor of the establishment." The word "splendor," used both

by Tyler and Minor, expressed very pertinently the surprise of Virginians of that day,—who had travelled little, and had few very fine models of residential architecture in their own State to educate their taste,—when they viewed the classical buildings which Jefferson had caused to rise in the shadow of Observatory Mountain. Ticknor was perhaps a more competent judge, for he had passed many years in Europe, had visited all its famous capitals, and had examined all its edifices of celebrity. He had thus become both fastidious and discriminating. In 1824, he happened to be a guest at Monticello, and, accompanied by his host, rode down to inspect the University edifices. At this time, ten pavilions, with their dormitories, and four hotels, with dormitories also attached, had been finished; and the Rotunda too was so far completed as to stand forward with a very noble aspect. In a letter to W. H. Prescott, Ticknor described the group “as a mass of buildings more beautiful than anything architectural in New England, and more appropriate to a university than are to be found, perhaps, in the world.” And it is the general opinion of more modern experts in the art that this extreme statement of the accomplished Bostonian was not exaggerated. “Although it cannot be but regretted,” remarked Stanford White, of our own day, “that it was not possible to use marble where wood and stucco painted white take its place, yet as the use of marble was necessarily impossible, the mind, reverting to the period when the buildings were erected, forgives the homely substitute in delight at the charming result.” And on another occasion, he spoke of the physical setting of the University of Virginia as the “most perfect and exquisite group of collegiate buildings in the world.” Dr. Fiske Kimball, summing up the merits of the structures in the mass, has characterized the whole as the “greatest

surviving masterpiece of the classic revival in America, the most magnificent architectural creation of its day on this side of the Atlantic."¹

Even the persons who were most enthusiastic in commenting on the extraordinary beauty of Jefferson's conception as incorporated in the Lawn and Ranges, could not blind themselves entirely to the inconveniences of his plan, and particularly to those connected with the dormitories. With doors facing either east or west, and with one small window only breaking the back wall of each room, there was little prospect of their catching the southern breeze during the heats of early summer. The burning rays of the declining sun struck the face of the western arcade in June and September,² the closing and opening months of the session, and the cold eastern winds poured against the eastern arcade both in winter and early spring alike. It was apprehended by some, at the beginning, that the constant noise of tramping feet under the cover of the arcades would disturb the students engaged with their books in their several apartments. The long, flat roofs of the Lawn, under the thawing of recurring snows, soon developed a tendency to leak, while smoking chimneys, within a short time, proved such an annoyance to the professors that Bonnycastle wrote an elaborate treatise to demonstrate how this irritating evil could be remedied.

The lecture-hall reserved in each pavilion became almost at once a source of perplexity; it was anticipated that some members of the Faculty would draw classes too small in size to occupy the whole of their several halls, whilst others would be so popular in themselves or their

¹ In a private letter to the author.

² The early sessions extended into July. Originally, indeed, the vacation was confined to the winter.

courses, that their halls would not, at any one time, furnish seats for all their pupils. Naturally, these professors would find the repetition of the same lecture on the same day to the students who had been shut out highly irksome; and the necessity of such repetition, should it arise, was certain to throw the whole table of recitation hours into confusion. Cabell, as early as April, 1819, suggested that the Greek, Roman, and French model of an oval room, with seats rising one above another, would give a large area for use; but it was pointed out to him that such a disposition of space would render the apartment unserviceable to the professor and his family during those hours when the lecture was not proceeding. There was then left but one way of removing the difficulty,—the enlargement of the lecture-room; but as that would upset the plan which Jefferson had adopted, Breckinridge, Cabell, and Cocke, who were impatient with the existing defect, felt that they must not only act with caution, but must also act together. “We should move in concert,” remarks Cabell in a letter to Cocke, “or we shall perplex and disgust the old sachem.” As the size of the rooms was not altered, the old sachem, it is to be inferred, remained obdurate to the proposal; indeed, to make the change effective, the scheme of each pavilion would have had to undergo a structural modification, which would have added substantially to the already high cost of building.

According to tradition, the purpose which Jefferson had in view for these single ground-floor apartments was blocked, not by formal resolution of the Board, but by that more delicate and subtle instrument of change, a woman’s will. It is said that the wives of the professors, finding that they needed the lecture-halls for reception or dining-rooms, brought furtive conjugal influences to

bear that shut out the students from them except as social visitors. There seems, however, to have been a more practical reason for the change than this,— as we shall see hereafter.

Not only was Jefferson the author of the common plan for Central College, and its successor, the University of Virginia, but, in spite of the burden of his increasing years, he continued to act as the practical superintendent of the building down to the completion of the entire group of structures, with the exception of the Rotunda, which, at his death, was still unfinished in some details of importance. He was assisted in this supervision by Cocke, and he possessed in the proctor, Arthur S. Brockenbrough, a vigilant and well-informed agent; but the bulk even of the specifications came from his brain and pen. In the interval between February and October, 1819, he drafted the plans and wrote out the specifications for five pavilions, with their adjacent dormitories, and also for five hotels. In 1821, he drew up the plans and specifications for the Rotunda. He was now in his seventy-ninth year. After the celebration of his eightieth birthday, he prepared the plans for an observatory and an anatomical hall. The entire set of these original plans, elevations, and specifications have been preserved, but only a few of the working drawings for the guidance of the builders have survived, since most of them were destroyed in their necessarily rough use by the mechanics. The knowledge which he had acquired of materials in erecting the Monticello mansion was put to practical service on a far greater scale in the construction of the University buildings; he was now as able to test the quality of brick, stone, mortar, and lumber, and to calculate their value, as the most expert artisan on the ground, while his taste in ornamentation was reflected in the

beautiful details which still adorn the interiors of the pavilions.

Under his watchful and experienced eye, the progress of construction from the day that the Visitors of Central College turned the property over to the Visitors of the University was rapid and uninterrupted. The committee of superintendence, Cocke and himself, had at first contemplated the erection of a hotel, so as to open the institution to students during the following winter, but, as early as May 12 (1819), they had, with the Board's approval, decided to finish the entire group of buildings before taking this final step. Workingmen were soon engaged in digging the foundations for the two additional pavilions and their dormitories, which had been authorized in anticipation of the payment of the annuity of the ensuing year. We obtain a glimpse of the busy scene on the University grounds in August (1819) from a letter written by George W. Spooner, who represented the proctor in the work out of doors during his absence in Richmond. "Mr. Phillips," he says, "has commenced to lay in bricks, and has the basement story (of one of the new pavilions) nearly up. Mr. Ware's foundation will be ready in a few days, but he is not yet ready for laying, not having burnt any of his bricks yet. Mr. Perry will begin as soon as they have succeeded in blasting a rock which has impeded their progress in digging his foundation. The two Italians are going on quite leisurely. They have cut three bases and one Corinthian cap. The two from Philadelphia I went out to the quarries to see. They appear to go on quite slowly, owing to the difficulty of quarrying the very hard rock. Mr. Dinsmore is putting up modillions in the cornice of his pavilion. Mr. Oldham is making his frame."¹

¹ This letter will be found among the Proctor's Papers.

By December 17 (1819), the brickwork of the five pavilions, with their respective dormitories, situated on West Lawn, had been completed, whilst the rafters of the roofs of two pavilions situated on East Lawn were in the course of being adjusted. By November 21, 1821, six pavilions, eighty-two dormitories, and two hotels, were in condition for immediate occupation; and by October 7, 1822, ten pavilions, one hundred and nine dormitories, and six hotels. Only a small amount of plastering remained to be finished. The gardens had not been entirely laid off, nor the serpentine walls, designed to bar them against intrusion, erected. A few capitals also had not as yet arrived from Italy. By October 6, 1823, all these deficiencies had been supplied. But the Rotunda had still to be carried through the last stage of construction.

VI. *Men Who Built the University*

We know the mind that conceived the plan of that noble group of buildings, and the hand which platted that plan, and drew up its vital specifications. Who were the men who actually laid the foundations, raised the walls, set the roofs, and decorated the entablatures? We have already mentioned the names of the contractors employed by the Visitors of Central College, and Spooner's letter, from which we have quoted, gives the names of most of those who were engaged in the work of construction after the University had been incorporated. Each pavilion in Jefferson's scheme represented in his view a separate school. It is significant that the amount which, according to his estimate, each would cost was precisely the same as that which, by his calculation, would be required to erect each of the district colleges called for in his famous scheme for popular education. In a very

definite sense, he looked upon each of the University schools as a distinct institution, not unlike the projected academies, and, therefore, the man who built one of these pavilions, which typified in brick and mortar a single school, was entitled to as much credit as if he had erected the main structure of a district college.

Starting with the pavilion situated at the northern end of West Lawn, we find that the bricks used in its construction were laid by Phillips and Carter, of Richmond, whilst its woodwork was from the hand of James Oldham. The brickwork of the second pavilion, on the same side of the Lawn, was from the hand of Matthew Brown; the woodwork from that of James Dinsmore. The contractor for the brickwork of the third pavilion was John M. Perry, and for the woodwork, Perry and Dinsmore; for the brickwork of the fourth pavilion, Matthew Brown, David Knight, and Hugh Chisholm, and for the woodwork, John M. Perry. Carter and Phillips furnished the brickwork for the fifth pavilion — at the south end of West Lawn,—and George W. Spooner the woodwork. At least three of the pavilions situated on the East Lawn, beginning at the northern end, were erected by Richard Ware. The woodwork for the fourth pavilion seems to have been from the hand of James Dinsmore. The hotels, A, B, C, D, E, and F, were built by Perry, Spooner, Nelson Barksdale, Curtis Carter, William Phillips and A. B. Thorn. Perry alone had a share in the construction of all the hotels except Hotel D. The contractors for the numerous dormitories were the same men as the contractors for the pavilions and hotels. The bricks for the serpentine walls were furnished by Perry, Phillips, and Carter; the tin for all the houses by A. H. Brooks.¹

¹ Proctor's Papers.

We have already referred briefly to the history of John M. Perry. He not only conveyed to the College and the University almost the entire area of ground on which the group of buildings now stands, but he also had a more extensive part in their erection, as a whole, than any other person employed in the work. Spooner, who was associated with him in his carpentry, appears first under contract to General Cocke at Bremo, where he was a co-laborer with Neilson, afterwards a partner of Dinsmore in the construction of the Rotunda. He remained at the University during many years engaged in making the repairs which were soon constantly required; and he was so much respected there, that, during a short interval, he filled the responsible office of proctor. Curtis Carter and William Phillips were brickmakers in business in Richmond. The famous Brockenbrough House, afterwards the White House of the Confederacy, was a monument of Carter's mechanical skill; and he had manufactured most of the material used in the thick walls of the handsome banks of that city in those times. This firm, responding to the advertisement inserted in the *Enquirer* by the proctor in the spring of 1819, sent in a bid to supply one million bricks for the use of the University, which was an indication of the great scale of their operations.

Alexander Garrett, a shrewd and competent judge, and as bursar in a good position to compare the skill of the different contractors, pronounced the work of Richard Ware to be superior to that of all the others. Ware resided in Philadelphia, where he had built several of the most imposing public and private edifices adorning that cultivated city. He had seen the advertisement,—which had appeared in the journals there,—for the erection of the University pavilions and dormitories,

and had visited Charlottesville at once to offer his bid in person; and Jefferson had accepted that bid on the condition of his procuring his brickmakers and bricklayers from the North. It was perhaps due largely to them, and to the superior opportunities for training that had been open to them there, that the work with which Ware was credited, received such warm encomiums.

Subordinate to the contractors, there were at least three stonecutters who deserve some notice: John Gorman and Michael and Giacomo Raggi. Our first view of Gorman is in Lynchburg, where, before he was induced to come to the University by Jefferson, he had been employed in a large marble quarry. Having been heartily recommended by Christopher Anthony, a highly esteemed citizen of that town, he was engaged to chisel the Tuscan capitals and bases; and was also expected to do all kinds of stonework that might be required, such as keystones, and window and door sills. He seems to have hacked into shape most of those needed for the hotels and dormitories. He was paid in accord with a tri-monthly measurement; and the fact that one-half of the amount due him at the end of each interval was always held back for six months, would seem to prove that he was not entirely reliable, and, for that reason, had to be subjected to a check of some sort.

The Raggis were Italian brothers who had been imported in accord with the advice of Jefferson. The first intimation that he gave of his intention to pursue his architectural scheme on a more ambitious scale than was reflected in the first pavilion, was his request for authority from the Board of Visitors to bring in a stonecutter who had been trained in his art in Italy. Micheli and Giacomo Raggi were procured through the offices of

Thomas Appleton, the American consul at Leghorn. They arrived in Baltimore in June, 1819. They proved to be expensive from the very start: it was necessary to advance them a large sum of money before they sailed; and this was swelled by another draft on the bursar to pay the cost of the journey from Maryland to Virginia. The stone which they were called upon, after their arrival, to chisel, had nothing in common with their native marbles; and this was perhaps one reason why Micheli, at least, showed almost at once a lazy callousness to the requirements of his contract. Previous to July 16, some test of their abilities had been made, for writing on that day to the proctor, Jefferson said, "If Mr. Micheli should be sufficiently advanced in his carving of a capital to judge of its success by to-morrow morning, I would ride up in the morning to see it." One month afterwards, Spooner, in a letter to Brockenbrough, then absent in Richmond, remarked rather pointedly that the "Italians are going on at the same gait, earning fifty cents a day." Their services, in the end, promised to be so unprofitable, owing primarily to the unfit nature of the stone which they had to work in, that, in September, 1820, the committee of superintendence decided to release them both, although the contract of one had still to run for eighteen months and of the other, for twenty. Giacomo had given only fourteen months of labor; Micheli, only twelve; and on that ground, the committee refused to pay the sum that would be due for their homeward passage. Although Micheli Raggi, the least industrious and trustworthy of the two, had been in the University's employment for twelve months, he had been the cause of an expenditure on his account of \$1,390.56. Giacomo Raggi did not accompany his brother to Italy; or if he did, he had

returned to Charlottesville by November 22, 1821, for, by that date, the outlay for his board and lodging had again become a charge on the funds of the University.¹

VII. *How Materials Were Procured*

If we except the marbles imported from Italy, the fundamental materials for the construction of the pavilions, dormitories, and hotels were obtained in the neighborhood of the University. There was a quarry nearby which afforded a great quantity of stone; the quality of it, as we have seen, unfitted it for conversion into capitals and bases; but it served very well for foundations and for the sills which were required for so many of the doors and windows. As this local stone was too hard and flinty for more pretentious forms, the Board endeavored to find a better sort in other Virginian deposits; and with that object in view, one of the Italians was sent, in October, 1819, to Bremono, on the James River, to examine General Cocke's freestone quarry, and to report whether or not the blocks were suitable for Corinthian capitals. He was ordered to bring back a load of four thousand pounds. Cocke gave him the sample solicited, but he wrote the proctor that he had no confidence in its real adaptability to such a purpose. He thought, however, that the freestone which was to be found in large quantities on Mt. Graham in his neighborhood, could, with ease, be used in the carving of Ionic capitals.

Brockenbrough, concluding that it would be cheaper to purchase in Richmond the stone that was needed, requested Thomas R. Conway,—who was interested in a quarry situated near that city,—to send him a sample of

¹ Giacomo was still at the University in 1831. He was, during that year, engaged with work for Dr. Patterson.

a Tuscan base and capital made of his product, and also asked him to blast out blocks suitable for the Corinthian and Ionic capitals. The Italians were so successful in carving a beautiful Corinthian leaf out of this stone that Brockenbrough wrote to Cocke in November (1819) that he had no doubt of his ability to obtain in this new quarter all the capitals wanted. On December 8, two blocks were sent from Richmond by Conway, one of which weighed 5,572 pounds, and the other, 2,856 pounds. They proved to be very difficult to chisel, and the capitals fashioned from them were decided to be too brittle to withstand the disintegrating influence of heat and cold. But that hope of procuring the right material in Virginia was not yet relinquished was disclosed, a few months later, by the search which Gorman and one of the Italians together made in Augusta, and probably in other counties of the Valley, for stone better adapted to the carving of Corinthian capitals. All the specimens, however, which were tested in this excursion, turned out to be disappointing.

As early as October, 1819, Cocke had urged the dismissal of the Raggis, and the importation from Italy of the marbles required. His prediction that this course would have to be pursued was fully verified in the end. In April, 1821, the Visitors received from Thomas Appleton, the American consul in Leghorn, a statement showing the cost of Ionic and Corinthian capitals delivered on shipboard in that harbour; and it was found that these marbles, in spite of the wide ocean, could be transferred from Europe to the University for a sum smaller than the one that had been dissipated in the attempted use of the Virginian stone. The committee of superintendence were, therefore, instructed to procure from Carrara all that should be thereafter needed.

The bricks used in the buildings were moulded and burnt in the neighborhood, as it was too expensive to transport them from a distance. The chief manufacturers were Perry, Thorn, Carter, Phillips, and Nathaniel Chamberlain.

The lumber required by the contractors in such large quantities was purchased from the numerous sawmills in the thickly wooded surrounding region. Perhaps, the most productive of these was the Hydraulic Mill, owned by Perry, who, through it, was able to supply, not only himself, but the other contractors with lumber. He also furnished for use at the University a large quantity of plank in such manufactured forms as scantlings, ceilings, joists, rafters, floorings, and sills. Nelson Barksdale, the former proctor, provided lumber of all sorts for the same general purpose; so did several members of the Meriwether family; so did Thomas Draffin, Warner Wood, and David Owens, of Albemarle, and William Mitchell, of Orange. The greater part of the glass and hardware was obtained from firms in Richmond, the most prominent of which were John Van Lew and Co., and Brockenbrough and Hume. The painting and glazing were principally the work of Edward Lawber, of Philadelphia, through skilful assistants like John Vowles and Angus McKay. The ornaments for the entablatures that adorned the pavilion drawing-rooms,—the ox-heads and flowers, the rosettes, lozenges, female heads, flowers on pannels and friezes,—came from the expert fingers of W. J. Coffee, an artisan from the North.

Among the most expensive items in the general account for the building of the pavilions, dormitories, and hotels were the charges for transportation. Many articles used in their construction were brought overland from Richmond, and as the number of wagons on the road in-

creased and fell off with the seasons and the volume of trade, tedious delays were thus often caused in obtaining even indispensable materials. The principal highway from the Valley passed through Rockfish Gap, and thence zigzagged westward by way of Charlottesville to the capital of the State. Caravans of lumbering, canvas-covered vehicles jolted along in spring, summer, and autumn, backwards and forwards, over this road; and the waggoners were as well known on their route as the coachmen who drove the tallyhoes between London and Oxford in the early part of the last century, were on that great turnpike, or the captains of the Mississippi steamboats, in more modern times, were on that stream. Many belonged to the German stock that had settled on the banks of the Shenandoah, as their names, Jacob Craft, Jacob Shuey, Philip Koiner, and the like, indicate. Kegs and barrels made up the freight usually conveyed in these wagons, while small articles were put in the heavy stages that carried passengers to and from Richmond. All ponderous goods were necessarily transported by the lines of batteaux that navigated the James River; some of these batteaux, when of light draft, were poled up the Rivanna to Milton, where their cargoes were unloaded, to be sent to the University by wagon; but, in many cases, the boats stopped at Scottsville, on James River, and from thence their large packages were carted up to Charlottesville overland.

In the course of the building, the University had use for the labor of many hired slaves. In 1821, the number employed there in different ways was thirty-two, some of whom were still under age. The terms for which they served did not run over one year, although, doubtless, the contracts with their owners were most often renewed at expiration. The overseer in charge was James Herron,

who was responsible for the safe keeping of the necessary supplies for the men and horses, and also for all the carts and tools. There seems to have been a large garden full of vegetables under cultivation for the benefit of the laborers; and the overseer was required to have it properly sowed, planted, and tended in season.

VIII. *The Building of the Rotunda*

The various details dwelt upon in the preceding chapter are pertinent only to the pavilions, dormitories, and hotels. The Rotunda was not only separate from these edifices in a physical way, but the history of its construction is equally distinct from theirs. Most of the buildings of the University were erected simultaneously, and all were practically completed before the excavations began for the foundations of the dominating edifice. In the earliest scheme, it will be recalled, the pavilions were to be placed on each of the three lines forming the boundaries of the first plat; and there were to be twenty dormitories attached to each pavilion. When it was decided to raise an imposing structure in the middle of the north line, this scheme was altered,—instead of the original number of pavilions and dormitories to be erected on the east and west lines respectively, it was necessary now to build five pavilions, with ten dormitories attached to each.

Although the Rotunda, the central feature of the beautiful architectural setting of the University, seems to have had, in its main lines at least, its germ with Latrobe, yet in the shape which the suggestion, once dropped in Jefferson's mind, finally took, that building was more distinctly characteristic of his classical taste than any other standing on the ground. It must have been as perceptible

to him as to Thornton and Latrobe that a stately edifice rising on this conspicuous site would enhance the imposing aspect of the whole group; and it is quite probable that, — in the beginning at least, — when there was so slim a prospect of the College ever becoming a university, his omission of such a structure was due, as already intimated, to the dictation of economy. It is easy to conceive of the artistic delight which he must have felt in planning for such a building; and it was due to him alone, apparently, that the Pantheon was adopted as the model. That temple was considered by many to be the noblest specimen of the architecture of antiquity surviving to the present day; and it was reproduced with perfect fidelity in the plates of Palladio, so well known to Jefferson.

This famous building was in the form of a cylinder surmounted by a hemisphere. The exterior walls were of concrete, faced with brick and marble. The dome was of concrete also, with a bronzed outer surface and a gilded ceiling. Sixteen granite columns, crowned by Corinthian capitals of marble, upheld the weight of the portico. A row of fluted marble pillars ran around the circumference of the great apartment, while the interior walls were covered with variegated marbles, upon which, and upon the floor, shone the rays of the sun falling through a circular orifice in the top of the dome.

In reproducing this splendid edifice, Jefferson was compelled to use the humble materials of brick and mortar instead of brick and concrete; plaster and white-wash instead of a marble facing; tin plates instead of bronze tiles. In one detail, however, the building in imitation is superior to the one copied. The masterpiece of Agrippa is approached by only five steps, a condition that imparts a squat appearance to the structure looked at from the front. The Rotunda, on the other hand, is approached

by fourteen steps, which to the eye lifts it up from the ground, and imparts to it a lighter and loftier aspect. By thus elevating the floor of its portico, the height of its cylindrical dome was so far increased as to be equal in degree to the diameter. This diameter is one half of the Pantheon's in extent, and the area of the edifice is about one fourth more contracted than that of its prototype. At first, it was Jefferson's design, as already stated, to lay off a lawn on either side of the Rotunda, but low-roofed gymnasia were afterwards substituted for them,—not perhaps because they enhanced the beauty of the central building, but more probably because the space was too valuable to be left in a purely ornamental state.

The Rockfish Gap Report recommended that the Rotunda should contain apartments for religious worship and public examinations, and also for instruction in music, drawing, and similar studies, but that the section of it which would be immediately under the dome should be reserved for the storage of books. That the latter was the principal end which the building was expected to subserve was demonstrated by the fact that, in the successive reports of the Visitors, it is ordinarily designated as the "Library." There was no provision for numerous lecture-rooms in the proposed structure, the explanation of which lay, of course, in the assignment of halls for that purpose in the pavilions; but after the edifice was finished, the little use which could be made of the apartments below the highest floor for the objects for which they were intended,—there being no demand for music and drawing lessons, and the examinations taking place only at long intervals,—led to the shifting of the lecture-rooms from the pavilions, where they caused so much domestic awkwardness,—to these vacant apartments in the Ro-

tunda. The first step towards this was the order of the Board of Visitors that the rooms should be kept for such schools as were attended by so many students that they could not be conveniently accommodated in a pavilion lecture-hall; and on the same occasion, an apartment in the basement was fixed upon as the future chemical laboratory.¹

There were not sufficient funds on hand, during the early period of construction, to permit of the erection of so large and costly an edifice as the Rotunda. In April, 1821, the Board of Visitors ordered the committee of superintendence to refrain from entering into any contract for its building until they were fully satisfied that the expenditure "on its account would not interfere with the completion of the pavilions, dormitories, and hotels," the erection of which had either begun or would soon begin. This made it impossible to start upon its actual construction before the General Assembly had appropriated a large sum for that purpose. It was not until October 7, 1822, indeed, that the proctor was told to stipulate with "skilful and responsible undertakers" for its erection according to the provisions of the plan already in his possession. Cocke, as a member of the committee of superintendence, had criticized the disjointedness of the terms

¹ Bonnycastle, of the School of Natural Philosophy, said, in 1826: "The lecture-room attached to my house, not being adapted to exhibit experiments, and having been found otherwise inadequate to the purposes intended, Mr. Jefferson had given me permission to have one of the elliptical rooms of the Rotunda fitted up as a lecture-room, with cases for the instruments, and raised seats for the students, according to a plan which he had approved. A colleague who had to have experiments also, had had two other rooms in the Rotunda similarly fitted." This was the chemical department. Minutes of Board of Visitors, Oct. 2, 1826.

"A room in pavilion VII was used for lectures in 1830-31. In September, 1831, the Board of Visitors took possession of the large room in Dr. Blaettermann's pavilion. He threatened to leave the University if it was not restored to him." Dr. Patterson to Cocke, Sept. 16, 1831.

in accord with which the pavilions, dormitories, and hotels had been built, and he now begged Cabell to support him in the resolution "not to permit the last grand building to be carried on in the loose and undefined manner as to the contracts, which, in the previous parts of the work, had been productive of so much disappointment to us, and had been the just cause of so much dissatisfaction to the public." The persons who, in the beginning, submitted bids were either too lacking in capital to dispense with the aid of advances by the University, or they demanded a fifty per cent. increase in the figures of their estimates. Neither Jefferson nor the proctor,—perhaps, from Cocke's warning,—thought it judicious to accept any offer on these conditions, and for that reason, the Rotunda was practically erected, piece by piece and stage by stage, by the University itself, instead of being turned over in the end to the Board of Visitors, an edifice completed but still one to be paid for.

Among the builders of the Rotunda were Thorn and Chamberlain, to whom were assigned the brickwork; for which they were required to furnish the mortar; and they also agreed to bring on trained men from Philadelphia for the actual bricklaying. Thorn received a wage of fifty dollars a month for overlooking the manufacture of the bricks, since most of this material was made in the University kiln by hired labor. From a letter written in February to Cocke by Neilson, we learn that Jefferson was full "of brickmaking ideas at present," which clearly indicates how minute was the supervision which he gave even to so ordinary a detail. Dinsmore and Neilson were the principal agents in carrying through the carpenters' and joiners' tasks for the new building; but the lumber, in this instance, as in that of the brick, was furnished at the University's expense, although the firm

made all the purchases; and it was also held responsible for the accuracy of the bricklaying.¹ The charges for measuring all the building work periodically as it went forward were borne in equal shares by the University and the contractors.

On July 4, Jefferson was able to write to Cabell, in a spirit of unrepressed exultation, that the Rotunda "was rising nobly." In the course of 1823 not less than thirty persons, whether or not regularly engaged in business, supplied the different articles that were required for this building, such as lime, lumber, dressed plank, shingles, hardware and iron; and there were almost uncountable bills for hauling as well as for providing food for man and beast employed in its construction. The persons who furnished the principal materials were the same as those who had furnished the like for the pavilions, dormitories, and hotels. For instance, three hundred thousand bricks, in addition to those burnt in the University kiln, were purchased of John M. Perry.

The most admirable features of the Rotunda were the ornate capitals and bases. In September, 1823, Jefferson and Cocke, as the committee of superintendence, entered into a contract with Giacomo Raggi, which obliged him to obtain in person in Italy for that edifice ten Corinthian and two pilaster bases of Carrara marble. He was to receive sixty-five dollars for each of the Corinthian, and thirty-two dollars and fifty cents for each of the pilaster,—one half of which sums was to be paid before the bases were dumped on shipboard at Leghorn, and the other half afterwards. Raggi had spent his hours of leisure in carving numerous articles in alabaster marble, and these he hoped to sell privately for his own profit;

¹ A large proportion of the plastering was done by Joseph Antrim; of the glazing by Lawber; and of the stone work by Gorman.

but so improvident had he been, in spite of a high wage, that, in leaving for Richmond by coach on his way to Italy, he was compelled to ask for an advance of fifty dollars from the proctor to settle his tavern bill on his expected departure from that city, and also to cover the cost of his ocean passage. The contract proved to be futile and valueless, for while Raggi seems to have gone to Leghorn with the purpose of carrying it out, he failed, — no doubt from impecuniosity, — in fulfilling what had been required of him. The marbles were finally procured with the assistance of Thomas Appleton, and, in the course of 1825, were sent over in two vessels, one of which made port at Boston, and the other at New York. When he informed the proctor of the arrival of the ship at Boston, General Dearborn, the Collector of Customs, who had been the Secretary of War in Jefferson's Cabinet, and who, from this fact, was interested in the University, repeated Mr. Appleton's statement to him that the capitals "would be found probably superior in dimensions, but certainly equal in architectural perfection to any in the United States"; and that they were copies of those which adorned the Pantheon at Rome. There were twenty-four ponderous cases, and Dearborn recommended that a petition should be addressed to Congress to admit them free of duty. As the custom charges would run as high as \$2,057.15, exemption from payment would save a large amount that might be applied to some useful purpose. There seems to have been two consignments unloaded at New York: one, of six cases; the other, by a different vessel, the *Caroline*, of thirty-one.

The marbles were transported to Richmond from Boston and New York by vessel, and there turned over to Colonel Bernard Peyton, the agent of the University, who seems to have looked upon the responsibility of taking

care of them as a very clumsy and perplexing burden. So prodigiously heavy were the capitals and bases that it was found very arduous to transfer them from the dock to the canal basin, from which the batteaux plying up the James set out. They weighed from three to five tons, and the question arose: were the boats wide and staunch enough to take them on board without risk? They were finally carried up the river and unloaded at Scottsville, and from that village were borne by wagons to the University. It required the services of a very capable overseer to bring about their safe delivery; and such was Lyman Peck, who superintended their removal on board the batteaux, their passage up stream, and finally their conveyance overland. Several weeks were consumed in accomplishing the entire task after the marbles had left the Richmond wharf. It was not until April 19, 1826, six months at least after their arrival in the dock there, that Colonel Peyton was able to report that, before the end of the ensuing week, the last capital would have been forwarded by water. Already the marbles which had reached the University were in the course of being put in their appointed places.

Jefferson died on July 4, 1826. A few days before he was forced to take to his bed with his fatal illness, he visited the University, and in the final glimpse which we have of him within the precincts of the institution to which he had given up all his thoughts and energies in his old age, he is seen seated and looking out through a window on the Lawn to watch the workingmen as they raised a capital to the top of the column at the southwest corner of the portico. So oblivious was he of all besides that he had unconsciously remained standing until Mr. Wertebaker silently brought him a chair. It seems very appropriate that his last association in his own person with

the university which he loved so absorbingly should have been with the noblest of all its buildings.

Dinsmore and Neilson were sometimes disposed to act impatiently in their intercourse with the Faculty. They were pointedly complained of, on one occasion, as replying offensively when they were asked to provide shelves for the books in the galleries of the library. Certain stairways of this apartment had not yet been finished, and these builders resented the suggestion that the work should be hastened on this part at the expense of other parts equally important, although many volumes thereby might have been made accessible for use at an earlier date. Nor did they concern themselves about the deafening noise raised by their tools. Dinsmore was requested to remove a workingman whose hammer rendered it impossible for one of the professors to go on with his lecture; the only answer from him, according to the report of the Faculty, was "a gross insult in the presence of the class." What he had said was, no doubt, true enough at that time; namely, that "the professors had no business in the building," and it seems to have been this fact alone that had caused him to threaten, with a fierce oath, "to turn them all out." It is quite probable that the inconveniences of the lecture-halls in the pavilions had proved so irksome to the teachers,—not to bring in their wives,—that some of them had been forced to take refuge in the half-finished lecture-rooms of the Rotunda, to the natural discomposure of both Dinsmore and Neilson, who were endeavoring to hurry forward its completion.

In October, 1826, the noble apartment reserved for the library was on the point of being finished; only a flight of steps and the laying of the marble flags on the floor of the portico were thereafter wanting to complete

the whole building. The adjacent gymnasia, however, were still in the course of construction. In November, the proctor was able to announce that the Rotunda, although the work on it was not entirely concluded, was in actual use; and that the professor of chemistry was now in possession of two rooms on the floor below. A third room was used for the purpose of both chemistry and natural history; and there was, in addition, a large lecture-room. There were still to receive the last touches one large and one small oval room, as well as the general entrance hall. It was not until 1832 that the stone steps were finally erected, but, in the meanwhile, wooden ones had certainly been in use as a temporary substitute. So defective did the fireplaces, by 1827, turn out to be, that the Faculty, in disgust, petitioned the Board to set up stoves, and the ingenuity of Bonnycastle was sharply tested to find a remedy for the smoking chimneys.

IX. *Additions to Main Building*

The Rockfish Gap Report had recommended that anatomy should form a part of the course to be taught in the School of Medicine, but it was not until March, 1825, that the Board decided that Jefferson's design for an anatomical hall should be adopted, and that steps should be taken to erect it just as soon as the funds then expected to be paid by the National Government had been received. In anticipation of the shelter of its roof, two skeletons were purchased by Dr. Robert Goodhow, of New York; and this seems to have been the first practical step towards the establishment of the medical school. By February, 1826, the construction of the hall had begun under a contract with Dinsmore and Neilson, and by August the roof had been completed. As it was neces-

sary to build with strict economy, the proctor,— who, in the absence of General Cocke, was overseeing the work, —complained to him of an expensive Chinese railing which had been put up on the edge of the roof. So rapid did the construction go forward that the hall seems to have been ready for use by February of the following year, only twelve months after the foundation stone was laid.

There was no suggestion in the Rockfish Gap Report of the need of an observatory in the projected university, and yet astronomy was a study which Jefferson looked upon as almost as important as architecture. An entry in his notebook accompanying a plan which he had drawn for such a building shows that he thought that astronomy, like architecture, could be taught by the object lesson of one of the University's structures. "The concave ceiling of the Rotunda," he remarked, with a characteristic absence of humor, "is proposed to be painted sky-blue, and spangled with gilt stars in their position and magnitude copied exactly from any selected hemisphere of our latitude. A seat for the operator, movable and flexible at any point in the concave, will be necessary, and means of giving to every star its exact position. A white oak sapling is to be used as a boom, its heel working in the centre of the sphere, with a rope suspending the small end of the boom and passing over a pulley in the zenith, and hanging down to the floor, by which the boom may be raised or lowered at will. A common saddle with stirrups is to be fixed as the seat of the operator; and seated in that, he may, by the rope, be propelled to any point in the concave."

It was probably the costliness of the projected building that influenced Jefferson to go slowly in advising the erection of an observatory, which, in size at least, should

be in proportion to the other structures. In 1820, he calculated that ten and even twelve thousand dollars would be needed; and the only prospect of obtaining so large a sum at this time lay in collecting the balance of the subscription money, to be supplemented by the rents expected from the hotels and dormitories so soon as the institution should open its doors. This prospect vanished in a short time; and three years afterwards, Jefferson was disposed to convert the house occupied by the proctor on Monroe Hill into the building desired. The isolation and elevation of its site appeared to adapt it to such a purpose. Not long before his death occurred, he, with characteristic care and minuteness, after examining the plans of all the principal establishments of this kind then in existence, drew up one of his own. The edifice was to be constructed so massively in its foundations and walls that it would be impossible for it to be liable at any time to disturbing vibrations. There was to be a cupola to shelter the telescope, with openings towards every point of the horizon, and thus, in every direction, looking out on a very wide expanse. A very high attitude for the site, however, would not be required, as the sky line at the University was not, as in Europe, shut in by numerous houses, both public and private. On the reservoir mountain there existed a site which combined in itself all the favorable conditions that were indispensable, except that the remotest limits of the eastern heavens were concealed by the barrier of the Southwest Range. For that reason, Jefferson seems to have, at one time, canvassed the expediency of placing the observatory on the top of one of these intervening peaks. A small structure was erected on the reservoir mountain about March, 1828; but it appears to have served no practical purpose owing to the lack of a proper fitting out, and

in 1859, it was pulled down, and the materials which entered into it were carted away for building elsewhere. A small brick house was erected on a knoll just south of Monroe Hill, was equipped by Lukens, of Philadelphia, and put in charge of Dr. Patterson, who took many observations there, and there did other astronomical work in connection with his classes in natural philosophy.

So soon as the contracts were given out, in the spring of 1819, for the construction of additional pavilions and dormitories, Jefferson began to consider the means of obtaining a permanent and voluminous supply of water. On April 9, he received a proposal from Mr. Balinger, of Philadelphia, to bring it within the precincts by means of pipes that were to tap springs on the side of Observatory Mountain. A previous bid seems to have been made in March by William Cosby, who was to have a share of some importance in the building of the University. By August, the work of boring the pipes, which were manufactured by hollowing out large logs of wood, had begun. The reservoir, however, had not yet been constructed, for, on October 7, James Wade, who had recently inspected the ground, advised Jefferson to place the receiving basin as high up on the mountain as practicable, so as to avoid the use of pumps. This method, he said, would be certain to create a strong natural flow of water for extinguishing a great fire, or for supplying an ornamental jet d'eau, should one be desired for diversifying the beauty of the University grounds. He suggested the construction of a circular reservoir, to consist of oak plank two and a half to three inches in thickness, and capable of holding three thousand or even four thousand gallons, with an arch of brick thrown over it for protection. The excavation of the ditch to contain the pipes occupied the interval from May to November.

Either the work of laying them was delayed, or they had to be replaced or renewed in part, for both in August, 1821, and in May, July, and November, 1832, the University was subjected to the expense of hauling logs and pipes. In the meanwhile, a number of cisterns had been constructed here and there within the precincts by Hugh Chisholm and William Phillips; and there were also sunk wells that required as many as ten thousand bricks to be brought from the Perry kiln.

There has already been a brief allusion to the gardens which lay in the rear of the ten pavilions. The walls enclosing these gardens were of a shape which has been aptly described as serpentine. It will be recalled that Jefferson, during his mission to France, had made a tour of the English counties, and in the course of his circuit of the island, had been very much pleased with the beauty of the gardens, especially in their relation to landscape. It was, probably, during this tour that he first noticed the serpentine walls, which, in those times as in these, environed so many of the English gardens, and being delighted with their graceful and unique sinuosity, he, no doubt, carried this impression with him until he had an opportunity of reproducing their shape in planning the garden walls for Central College. In England, this type of wall, because it presents a larger surface to the rays of the sun, is thought to be better adapted to the growth of flowering vines and fruits. The smaller cost of such an enclosure was, perhaps, an important reason for its adoption for the protection of the University gardens. The serpentine wall can be safely raised with a thickness of one brick to a greater height than an ordinary straight wall of the same dimensions. The original serpentine walls at the University were only half a brick through, and yet from ground to top the dis-

tance is as much as six or seven feet; and the strength of their framework is proven by the endurance of most of the first material used, during a period of nearly one hundred years.

In providing for the buildings for the new seat of learning, Jefferson did not forget the need of a clock and bell. In 1825, the proctor obtained an offer from Joseph Saxton, of Philadelphia, who represented the famous maker, Lukens, who was then in Paris. Apparently, this was not accepted, for, in April, Jefferson wrote to Mr. Coolidge, of Boston,—a city which then had a high reputation in the art of bell making,—to ask him for assistance in procuring the bell so soon to be used. "We want one," he said, "which can be generally heard at a distance of two miles, because this will always ensure its being heard at Charlottesville."

Coolidge, in his reply to this letter, seems to have recommended Mr. Willard, of Boston, but no clock and bell were manufactured that year, for, on April 3, 1826, the Board of Visitors empowered the executive committee to buy a clock and bell, should Congress consent to remit the duties on the capitals imported from Italy.¹ The order for the bell given to Willard was countermanded by Cocke after Jefferson's death, and an order for a triangle at first substituted; but the clock was

¹ Writing to Cocke, October 31, 1826, Coolidge gave the following information: "In answer to my inquiry, Mr. Willard said he is now old (73) and cannot accomplish much during these short days,—that being very anxious that the clock shall surpass any he has ever made, he suffers no one to work on it but himself,—that giving freely his own time and care to perfect it, he asks only patience on the part of the Visitors to enable him to surpass any which has been made in this country." Writing August 23, 1827, to the proctor, Madison said, "Great care in the postage of the clock and thermometer is required." The clock had been injured in its springs in the course of the first transfer, and, it seems, had to be sent back for repairs. We learn this from a letter by Coolidge dated August 16, 1827.

finally made by Willard in accord with the elaborate instructions which Jefferson had given in his letter to Coolidge in June, 1826. In the spring of 1827, the clock appears to have been put in place, for it was during that year that Willard visited the University for the purpose. A bell seems to have been ordered at first from Joseph White, of New York, but it did not give satisfaction. In November, 1827, a bell was shipped by Mr. Coolidge from Boston, and this was probably the one which remained in constant use until 1886, when having cracked, it became necessary to discard it; but it still survives as a venerable relic of the many years during which it sounded through the precincts of the University, and over the surrounding region of country.

When, in the spring of 1819, the appointment of a proctor was under discussion, Governor Preston, recommended Arthur S. Brockenbrough, a member of a distinguished family, who, at that time, was superintendent of repairs to the Capitol in Richmond, and was also in charge of the improvements to the Capitol Square, then in progress. "Brockenbrough," he wrote, "was judicious, economical, and industrious, a man of correct taste, who had been trained in building; and in character, unexceptional, and in disposition, amiable." These encomiums were not exaggerated. His ability and fidelity in performing the practical part imposed on him officially in the erection of the University have not been awarded the praise to which they fully entitle him in the history of the institution. Constant vigilance, unceasing activity, and the power to direct and use men to advantage, as well as knowledge of building in its general and special features alike, were required of him, and all these qualifications he exhibited. His responsibilities covered a large field of small details arising continuously, and call-

ing for sound judgment and expert information to meet them correctly and promptly. Jefferson pointed out how intricate were the duties of the office in his letter inviting Alexander Duke, in 1819, to undertake them. "They are of two characters so distinct," he said, "that it is difficult to find them associated in the same person. One part . . . is to make contracts with workmen, superintend their execution, see that they are, according to plan, performed faithfully and in a workmanlike manner, settle their accounts and pay them off. The other is to hire common laborers, overlook them, provide subsistence, and do whatever else is necessary for the institution."¹

It is true that Jefferson relieved Brockenbrough of much drudgery that would have fallen on him had Jefferson himself been satisfied with a nominal oversight. We have seen him laying off the site of Central College, drawing up the specifications for the buildings from cellar to garret, prescribing the tests for brick, stone, and timber, writing out many of the contracts with his own hand, and preparing the deeds to the purchased lots. But he very probably did not take upon himself to perform every one of those duties which he enumerated in the letter to Duke. Although he visited the University so frequently, yet it was not possible for him to remain the entire round of working hours, and there must have been, in his intervals of absence, however short, a throng of small matters of business rising up suddenly and requiring to be at once passed upon. As Bremono, the home of General Cocke, the other member of the committee of superintendence, was situated a day's journey off, it was not possible for him to be constantly within the pre-

¹ The original of this letter is in the possession of Judge R. T. W. Duke, Jr. (1919).

cincts. Brockenbrough, on the other hand, resided on the ground; the affairs of the University rested upon him, from morning to night, through the entire week, regardless even of the Sabbath; and when his two superiors were not present, he alone was responsible for the correct and orderly progress of the buildings. The accounts of his office, which still survive, are very voluminous, and they embrace every side of the original expenditures for construction.

That his temper was sometimes harassed by the exasperating intricacies of his duties crops out in the history of his relations with some of the workingmen. W. J. Coffee, whose artistic eye and hand fashioned the ornamental parts of the entablatures of the pavilion drawing-rooms, roundly denounced him, on one occasion, as "ill-bred, unhandsome, and insulting," but as there had been a difference of opinion in the settlement of his balance, it is quite possible that Brockenbrough was only endeavoring to safeguard the interests of the University. That was certainly so in the case of a contention with Edward Lawber, who supplied the paints for so many of the buildings. The records indicate that there was but one suit of importance brought against the institution during his administration by any of the contractors; this was by James Oldham; a proof that care had been taken by him to deal justly and exactly with all the persons who had a share in constructing it.

After Jefferson's death, Brockenbrough's prolonged experience under circumstances that sharpened his powers of observation was very serviceable to both Cocke and Madison as the executive committee. There still survives a letter written by him to the latter about the time that Madison succeeded to the rectorship, which contains many valuable practical suggestions re-

specting the dormitories and hotels, and also the hospital, which had been projected but not yet begun.

x. Cost of Buildings

What was the outlay required for the erection of the elaborate fabric of the University? The answer to this question is an important one, not only from an economical and historical point of view in general, but also because it demonstrates in another way the breadth and dignity of the work which Jefferson performed for his native State in founding and building that institution. It would be possible, from the contents of the proctor's vouchers belonging to the period of construction, to offer tables that would embrace every detail of the entire cost; but the prices of a few of the essential and fundamental materials used by the contractors will be sufficient for our present purpose.

The chief price list at that time was known as the Philadelphia Price Book, and we shall find that it governed many of the charges in the building of the University, although, in some cases, with modifications called for by local conditions. Take, for instance, the bids of the carpenters and joiners in 1819. "From my knowledge of the manner in which the work is to be done," writes James Dinsmore in May of that year, "and of the difficulty of procuring good workingmen, and also in the difference in [the price of] the materials between here and Philadelphia, I shall not consider myself justified in undertaking by the book (Philadelphia Price Book) as the standard, at a less advance than the difference of the currency between Pennsylvania and Virginia. Should it be more agreeable to the Visitors, I would undertake it at five per cent. less, provided they get an experienced

Philadelphia measurer to measure the work after it is executed. At these rates, I should wish to undertake the carpenter's and joiner's work of the Ionic pavilion, with the range of dormitories attached to it." It seems that Dinsmore and Perry, after this letter was written, consented to reduce the amount of their bid because there had been a fall in wages since it was first submitted; and they asserted their willingness now to conform to the Philadelphia Price Book provided that a Virginia dollar should be accepted as equal in value to a Pennsylvania dollar. Perry, testifying, in 1830, in the suit of James Oldham, said that he recalled "that it was distinctly understood that the last work let at the University was to be done at ten per cent. below the first work undertaken. I recollect I applied to Mr. Jefferson, and urged it, that, as we were fixed then to do the work, I did not think it right that we should be required to work for less than we had done. His reply was, that work had fallen everywhere and that no more would be given."

The men who had the principal share in building the University, lacked, with hardly an exception, even a moderate amount of capital; when they did buy their own material, payment was usually effected by advances on their accounts with the proctor; the purchase, in each case, was really made by him, and a deduction for it was entered against the balance due the contractor on his books. But this fact rather increases than diminishes our ability to find out the most significant charges.

Down to a period as late as 1819, the former habit of stating all prices in the terms of the old Colonial currency of pounds and shillings was very often followed. Thus we find that the edge plank used in the construction of the pavilions was valued at so many shillings the one hundred feet; but when the quantity was very large, the

price was expressed in American units. Richard Ware, in 1820, bought 2,424 feet of W. D. Meriwether at the rate of thirty dollars the thousand; but this was probably undressed, as flooring plank furnished by Nelson Barksdale, the same year, was valued at forty-five dollars for the same number of feet. The shingles for the kitchen roofs were purchased at the rate of three dollars and seventy cents the thousand and scantlings at the rate of thirty-four dollars. In 1819, John M. Perry agreed to furnish three hundred thousand bricks in return for fourteen dollars the thousand for place-brick, and twenty-four dollars for oil-stock, while the charge of Carter and Phillips for the same proportions was respectively eleven dollars and fifty cents, and twenty dollars. The accounts reveal that the University was able to manufacture one hundred and eighty thousand bricks within the space of a month; and the expense of doing this was estimated at \$539.68. This seems to have taken in the wage of the moulder, the hire of the laborers, and the cost of their food, as well as the cost of the fifteen cords of wood consumed in the making.

In the beginning William Leitch, of Charlottesville, acquired the sole right to supply all the ironmongery for the buildings; but as this monopoly brought down the criticism of the trade, and raised up enemies for the new institution, the contract, with his consent, was cancelled. As this material was afterwards procured from Richmond, the prices were very much swelled by the charges for hauling.

The most onerous single feature in the construction of the University was the importation of the capitals and bases from Italy. Writing to Cabell in September, 1821, Jefferson calculated that the seventeen capitals for pavilions II, III, V and VIII had cost \$1,784.00; and that

the charge for the same number yet to arrive would be \$2,052.00. The freight upon thirty-one boxes from Leghorn amounted to \$264.00. In April, 1823, four Ionic capitals for pavilion II cost \$60.00 apiece; four Corinthian for pavilion III, \$180.00 each; six Ionic for pavilion V, \$55.00 each; and two Corinthian for pavilion VIII, \$110.00 each. Jefferson estimated that the outlay for transportation added fifty per cent. to the expense at the quarry. In 1825, the cost of ten whole and two half capitals for use in the Rotunda amounted to \$6,270.27.

The wages of ordinary stonecutters, in 1820, was twenty-five cents for each superficial foot. It was, however, fifty cents per foot in straight moulded work, and seventy-five cents in circular. Alexander Spinks, the quarrier, received a wage of thirty dollars a month, and as the charge for board was ten dollars only for the same length of time, he still retained a satisfactory margin of profit. In January, 1820, John Gorman was working at the rate of seventy-five cents the superficial foot in chiseling the Tuscan bases and capitals. For the Doric bases and capitals, on the other hand, he was paid at the rate of eight dollars apiece; for the moulded door-sills, four dollars and eighteen cents; and for the plain, two dollars and fifty cents; and for setting the sills, two dollars respectively.

The work of sheeting the roofs with tin during the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, was done by the hand of A. H. Brooks. His scale seems to have been six dollars and thirty cents for each square. Jefferson soon became dissatisfied with him because of this high charge, for such he considered it to be. "The tinning," he wrote Mr. Yancey, of Buckingham, "can be done as well for one dollar as he can do it. We were led to it from a belief that it could not be done without the very expensive and

complicated machine which he used to bind the tin, which he told us was a patent machine costing forty dollars, and not to be had in the United States. At that stage of our business, I got him to come and cover a small house for me. Seeing his machine at work and how simple the object was, I saw that the same effect could be produced by two boards hinged together. I had this done accordingly, and it did the work as neatly, and something quicker, than his forty dollar machine, while this could be made for fifty cents. Any person will learn to do it in a day as well as in a year."

This letter brings into light, not only Jefferson's unremitting vigilance in superintending the work of building at the University, down to the minutest particulars, but also his shrewd discernment and his mechanical ingenuity. Brooks seems to have been retained in spite of the discredit cast upon his machine by this object lesson, for, in 1826, he was employed in laying on such sheets of tin as the Rotunda needed, at the rate of five dollars and fifty cents the square,—which was only about one dollar less than he had charged for the like covering on the other buildings.¹

The cost of all the materials used in the construction was very much increased by the high charge for wagonage and boatage. We have seen that packages from a distance, however ponderous,—and there was no one thing of its size heavier than a marble capital or base,—were conveyed either in the overland vehicles, or in the river batteaux that put Charlottesville and Richmond into commercial intercourse by water. The rates for local hauling were moderate in comparison, but formed a serious expense on account of the quantity of lumber and

¹ Bargamin, of Richmond, was the contractor for the copper sheeting used on the dome.

the like weighty articles dumped by carts within the precincts of the University. The hardware purchased in Richmond was transported by wagon at an average return of one dollar the hundred pounds; and this was also the rate for blocks of stone. If the overland freight consisted of but one or two casks, the charge was seventy-five cents the hundred pounds. On one occasion, William Estes hauled twenty-five boxes of tin from Richmond for eighteen dollars and fifty-eight cents; and this seems to have been the rate customary with his associates on the road: William Dietrick, James Myers, and Thomas Priddy. There is on record a charge by another wagoner, John Craddock, of forty cents the hundred pounds in the instance of one box of general merchandise and six boxes of tin. The rate for articles of ordinary weight brought by boat to the Milton landing was usually about fifty cents the hundred pounds; on four barrels of Roman cement transported thither in 1821, and from thence carted to the University, the aggregate charge was six dollars. When the Ionic and Corinthian capitals were imported in 1823, the boatage from Richmond to Scott's landing in Albemarle, was found to be very expensive,—Peter Rutherford and William Megginson were the owners of the batteaux used, and to one of them the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars was paid; and, no doubt, the same amount to the other. Not less than six persons were employed for the wagonage to the University, each of whom received five dollars for every day of service. Some were occupied with the work at least eight days and some only four. If the hauling was from the immediate neighborhood, and the materials were wood, rock or lumber, the charge by the day ranged from four dollars to five.

One of the continuous expenses which had to be met

was the hire of slaves and the purchase of provisions for their support. In 1820, the outlay on this score amounted to \$1,099.08; in 1821, to \$1,133.73; in 1822 to \$868.64; and in 1825 to \$681.00, a steadily falling scale from year to year. The charge for each negro was gauged by his age and physical condition. Sixty dollars was the average amount. When the slave was returned at the end of his time, he had to be fitted out with outer and underclothing, and double-soled shoes. The monthly wages of a white or free colored laborer ranged from ten to sixteen dollars. These men were either boarded by the University at a weekly rate, or they were supplied with meal and bacon, large quantities of which were bought for them, and also for the slaves, at the rate of ten cents the pound for the bacon, and two dollars the barrel for the corn. John Herron, the overseer, received one hundred and twenty dollars annually for his services; and this income was increased by his wife, an industrious seamstress, whose time was chiefly taken up with sewing for the hired workingmen.

The amounts required for the purchase of separate articles would fail to give even an approximate idea of the total expenditures for erecting the several buildings of the University. There are figures available to show what was the aggregate outlay which each of these edifices entailed. In 1820, Jefferson, writing to Cabell, enclosed for his examination the following estimates: ten pavilions were to cost six thousand dollars each; six hotels, three thousand, five hundred dollars each; one hundred and four dormitories, three hundred and fifty dollars each. Independently of the Rotunda it was his belief that the entire group could be constructed for \$162,364.00. In 1821, he stated that the average expenditure for the pavilions which had been finished was

\$8,982.49; for sixteen of the dormitories, \$13,898.35, and for nineteen others, \$11,083.63. The estimated amount to be paid for the pavilions not completed was \$33,563.15, and for dormitories in the like condition, \$39,462.60. Down to this time, the total estimated cost of buildings unfinished was \$110,911.49; the actual cost of buildings finished, \$84,188.51. The divergence between the expended outlay and the actual outlay for such structures as were completed before November 29, 1821, is thus explained in the report of the Board drawn up on that day: "The two (first) pavilions and their dormitories were begun and considerably advanced when all things were at their most inflated paper prices, and, therefore, have been of expanding cost; but all the buildings since done on the more enlarged scale of the University have been at prices of from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. in reduction. It is confidently believed that, with that exception, no considerable system of buildings in the United States has been done on cheaper terms, nor more correctly, faithfully, and solid of execution, according to the value of the materials used."

An impression that the outlay for constructing the University was far larger than was justifiable was very wide-spread in 1822; Cabell conceded that the charge of extravagance was now on the lips of even the "intelligent circle of society"; but he did not think that there was any substantial foundation for it. Writing to Jefferson in March, he said, "The admissions of our own friends, and the known opinion of a part of the Board of Visitors, have mainly contributed to give currency and weight to the prejudice prevailing on this subject." He insisted that, instead of prodigality, there had been strict economy in the expenditures; but it is probable that the opposing opinion of Cocke, who was not so much under Jef-

fer's influence, and who had had practical experience as a builder, was, in the main, correct. There can be no doubt, however, that Jefferson was rigidly accurate in saying, as he did do in the course of the construction, that, with the exception of one payment of seventy-five cents, every penny had been fully accounted for in properly signed vouchers. Cocke's disposition to question arose from his disapproval of some of the details of the style of architecture adopted, which required so much to be spent in apparently useless ornament. The expression "raree show," which he jocularly applied to the whole grouping, indicated that he thought that some of the sacrifices of money for sake of mere beauty were unnecessary. He was looking at the structure from the point of view of a man who was scrupulously keeping his eye on the amount of the balance in bank, whereas Jefferson never really considered that balance at all, because, in his anxiety to carry out his whole scheme in its perfection, he was sanguine that the General Assembly could be wheedled into providing the funds in the end. As a member of the committee of superintendence, Cocke, a very prudent and conservative man of business, would have crept forward in the expenditures with even more caution than if the buildings had been his own property, and not the property of the University. Cabell occupied no such relation to the actual construction as this, and he was naturally more complacent in accepting Jefferson's perfectly honest but too hopeful estimates, and more indignant than Cocke or Chapman Johnson when public criticism was leveled at the sachem for being too liberal in the use of the large sums already put at his disposal.

The following tables show the actual cost of the pavilions, hotels and dormitories, which were in existence when the University was thrown open.

<i>Pavilions</i>		<i>Hotels</i>		<i>Dormitories</i>
I.	\$9,992.05	Hotel A	\$4,499.21	\$78,509.58
II.	10,863.57	Hotel B	6,278.29	
III.	16,528.47	Hotel C	4,525.38	
IV.	11,173.30	Hotel D	6,245.39	
V.	11,723.41	Hotel E	4,638.71	
VI.	9,793.40	Hotel F	6,013.68	
VII.	9,399.73			
VIII.	10,786.86			
IX.	8,785.04			
X.	11,758.06			

The balance sheet of the proctor for 1828 disclosed that, up to that year, the residential buildings of the University had called for an expenditure of \$236,678.29, and the Rotunda, of \$57,749.33. The figures for the latter edifice clearly exhibited Jefferson's proneness to undercalculate the cost of construction, for he had agreed with the proctor in thinking that \$46,847.00 would be sufficient for its erection. John Neilson,—who was pronounced by Cocke to be one of the few men employed in the work at the University who was competent to make an estimate,—had predicted that the outlay necessary for the Rotunda would not fall short of fifty-five thousand dollars; and this anticipation turned out to be almost precisely correct. In 1830, the entire property belonging to the institution was valued at \$333,095.12, in which account the lands were assessed at \$9,465.75, and the books and apparatus at \$36,308.07.

XI. *The Fight for Appropriations*

From what sources were obtained the voluminous funds that were necessary to carry through the elaborate and expensive programme of building which has been described? It will be recalled that, before the College

was converted into a University, the only means of collecting money consisted of the subscription list. Had the University, like the College, been compelled to depend upon this alone, it would have had a very precarious outlook from the start. The General Assembly foresaw that, in incorporating the institution, it would be imperative to afford it a definite measure of support. The sum to be appropriated annually for its benefit, namely fifteen thousand dollars, was not enough in itself for the erection of the buildings, but it would at least be sufficient to pay the salaries of the professors, and at a pinch, be used as interest upon a loan negotiated to embrace the remaining cost of construction. The annuity, small as it was, was granted somewhat grudgingly, and there were to be times in a future not at all remote when a warning threat of discontinuing it was to be heard.

There was one man who never for a moment was satisfied with fifteen thousand dollars as the annual limit to the State's assistance; that man was Jefferson. The petition for aid which he wished to submit to the General Assembly while Central College was still in existence, seemed to him more imperative than ever after it had been merged in the University. He was clearly aware, that, should he not succeed in obtaining the appropriation of very large sums by the Commonwealth, in addition to the annuity, he would not be able to complete the buildings in the splendid form upon which he had set his aspiration in the beginning. He, and his staunch coadjutor, Cabell, and their few unwavering supporters in the Legislature, never suffered any sort of set back, however staggering, to balk them long in their crusade. How deeply Cabell's heart was enlisted in it is revealed in one of his letters to Jefferson: "I returned (to Richmond) over stormy rivers and frozen roads," he wrote,

“to rejoin the band of steadfast patriots engaged in the holy cause of the University”! The holy cause of the University! That was the view which both of them took in their unceasing fight for appropriations; and, as we shall see, neither of them,—as, for instance, in opposing the transplantation of the College of William and Mary,—allowed any sentimental scruples to palsy the resolute energy of their purpose.

There was in the avidity with which Jefferson fixed his eyes on the Literary Fund,—the only source from which more of the State’s money could be got,—something that would appear pathetically ludicrous but for its unselfish and disinterested spirit. That Fund was barred to the University beyond the annuity by numerous influences which could be broken down only with painful difficulty; among them were (1) the disposition of the General Assembly to restrict all large appropriations from this fund to the use of the elementary public schools, such as they were; (2) the sour feeling against Jefferson himself, which lingered among his political foes of the past; (3) the impression among the friends of the College of William and Mary that the waxing of the University would be accompanied by the proportionate waning of the College; (4) the jealousy and rivalry of small institutions like Hampden-Sidney College and Washington College; (5) the belief among the several denominations that the University was friendly to irreligious tendencies; and finally, (6) the provincial indifference to the claims of literature and education, which was then so much abroad in Virginia. As these hostile influences existed in the State at large, they were, of course, reflected in a concentrated form in the popular representation in the General Assembly. It was Cabell who had to ride down this powerful array, for it was he, and not Jeffer-

son, who, under the roof of the capitol, was brought face to face with it in its most threatening shape. "The University," wrote General B. J. S. Cabell, who was a member of the Legislature during these years, "had the warm support of a number of enlightened men in both Houses, but he it was whose generous enthusiasm and burning zeal always called and marshalled the forces to battle. It was remarkable that, though promptly opposed and sometimes beaten in the vote, with what elasticity he would rise again in a few days, and return to the charge stronger than ever; and a session rarely passed without his having obtained a signal victory for the University. It is no disparagement to the memory of his patriotic colleagues to say that he was the Ajax Telemon of that sacred war. I know several of his enlightened compeers, devoted patriots, men of exalted worth and talents, who delighted to honor him as their leader in that great work."

Among the most conspicuous and indefatigable of these "compeers" was William F. Gordon, a delegate in the House, and afterwards a representative in Congress, the author of the Sub-Treasury Scheme, and as a member of the Convention of 1829-30,—in itself a badge of civic distinction,—the proposer of the plan that settled the vehement controversy between the East and West that was so near to the verge of breaking up that great body. He had been in the first rank of those who strove to establish the University on the site of Central College; and he stood always at Cabell's elbow, whenever, as General Cabell expressed it, "a charge" was to be made for an appropriation. Chapman Johnson, William C. Rives, George Loyall, General Breckinridge, General Blackburn, R. M. T. Hunter, and Philip Doddridge, were some of the other high-minded and public-spirited men,

who, either in the Senate or the House, could, like Gordon himself, be always relied upon to use their influence with their colleagues to ensure the passage of any measure that was favorable to the interests of the University.

With characteristic promptness and singleness of purpose, Jefferson began the fight for the appropriations of large sums to the University only three days after its incorporation. Would it not be possible, he inquired of William C. Rives in January, 1819, to induce the General Assembly to turn over to the institution all that portion of the annual reservation for the charity schools which remained derelict because not accepted by them? "I mean so much of the last year's \$45,000 as has not been called for, or so much of this year's \$65,000 as shall not be called for. These unclaimed dividends might enable us to complete our buildings and procure apparatus and library, which, once done, the institution might be maintained in action by a moderate annual sum. Could it have any ill effect to try this proposal with the Legislature?" Cabell, and very probably Rives also, disapproved of this course, because it would revive the popular impression that the University was covertly seeking to absorb the entire income of the Literary Fund. This alone would make certain its defeat. The interests which had striven to divert the location of the University from Charlottesville were still sore and angry over their discomfiture. "They will seize upon every occasion," wrote Cabell in February, "and avail themselves of every pretext to keep it down." "Better," he urged "to put off to another session the petition for a special appropriation." But Jefferson was not disposed to accept this advice. "We should go on in our duty," he said sturdily, "and hope the same from them, and leave on them the blame of failure." And it was not until Cabell

pointed out to him that the income from the Literary Fund was, for the time being, exhausted, and that the Assembly would refuse to create a special fund, that he desisted.

By January 22, 1820,—the Legislature, in the meanwhile, having been in session during several weeks without making the appropriation so eagerly desired and expected,—Jefferson began to grow impatient and reproachful. “Kentucky,” he said “has a University with fourteen professors, and two hundred students, though the State was planted after Virginia. If our Legislature does not heartily push our University, we must send our children for education to Kentucky or Cambridge. If, however, we are to go a-begging anywhere for our education, I would rather it should be to Kentucky than any other State, because she has more of the flavor of the old cask than any other. All the States but our own are sensible that knowledge is power, and we are sinking into the barbarism of our Indian aborigines, and expect, like them, to oppose by ignorance the overwhelming mass of light and science by which we shall be surrounded. It is a comfort that I shall not live to see it.”

About a month later,—perhaps, under the influence of Jefferson's temporary dejection of mind,—Cabell was inclined to make an effort to obtain that portion of the income of the Literary Fund which remained unappropriated after there had been paid out the regular annuities to the University and the public schools. It seems that this surplus had now swelled to forty thousand dollars. Nothing of practical value, however, was done by the State for the institution until February 24, 1820, when the General Assembly impowered the Board of Visitors to borrow sixty thousand dollars for the purpose of finishing the group of buildings. Security for the payment

of the interest, and for the redemption of the principal, was to be created by the pledge of a definite proportion of the annuity. In March, forty thousand dollars of the authorized loan was obtained from the President and Directors of the Literary Fund. The Visitors, at their meeting in April, decided to apply one-half of this amount to the liquidation of the University debt, and the other half to the completion of such buildings as were already in the process of construction; and should there remain a surplus, this surplus, together with all the annuity for 1821,—except the portion needed to pay the interest on the loan,—was to be expended in the erection of additional pavilions and dormitories. And the Visitors further determined to borrow of the Literary Fund the additional twenty thousand dollars which the General Assembly had allowed.

Jefferson very correctly thought that the loan of the sixty thousand dollars should have been an appropriation for the benefit of education, and as such should not have been accompanied by a proviso as to interest and redemption. He soon began to swing the club which he was always to find so effective. Now, he was fully aware of the fact that the public expected the lectures to begin at an early day, and that the members of the Assembly were responsive to the popular desire. What was more likely to make an impression on them than the warning that, unless they were liberal in their grants of money to the institution, there would be but a slim prospect of its throwing open its doors within any limit of time that could then be reasonably predicted? He was shrewd enough to recognize that it would be short-sighted to admit students while the buildings were only partly completed, for if it were known that the University was obtaining an income from this source, the members of the

Assembly would be more inclined than they were then to be apathetic to his insistent calls for financial assistance.

We catch the tone of a cold but polite rebuke in the report of the Visitors for October 3, 1820, which was written by him and reflected his attitude of mind: "If the Legislature shall be of opinion that the annuity already apportioned to the establishment and maintenance of an institution for instruction in all the useful sciences, is its proper part of the whole (Literary) Fund, the Visitors will faithfully see that it shall be punctually applied to the remaining engagements for the buildings, and to the reimbursement of the extra sum lately received from the General Fund; that, during the term of its application to these objects, due care shall be taken to preserve the buildings erected from rain or roguery; and at the end of that term, they will provide for opening the institution in the partial degree to which its present annuity shall be adequate. If, on the other hand, the Legislature shall be of the opinion that the sums so advanced in the name of a loan from the General Fund of education were legitimately applicable to the purposes of a university; that its early commencement will promote the public good (1) by offering to our youth, now ready and panting for it, an early and near resource for instruction, and (2) by arresting the heavy tribute we are annually paying to other States and countries for the article of education, and shall think proper to liberate the present annuity from its charges,—the Visitors trust it will be in their power, by the autumn of 1821, to engage and bring in place that portion of the professors designated by law to which the present annuity might be found competent; or by the same epoch, to carry into full execution the whole object of the law, if an enlargement be made of

its participation in the General Fund adequate to the full establishment contemplated by the law."

These words, respectful as they are, barely veil Jefferson's contempt for the niggard spirit of the General Assembly; and they also put forward something broader than a hint for a larger share of the income of the Literary Fund. The public suspicion that he was really aiming to divert most of that income to the University was not altogether without foundation. "One hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars," he remarked a few weeks later, "had been appropriated, in the course of three years, to the primary schools. How many children had been instructed during that time?" "I should be glad to know," he adds, "if that sum has educated one hundred and thirty-five poor children. I doubt it much. And if it has, it has cost us one thousand dollars apiece for what might have been done with thirty dollars. Divide the income of the Fund, amounting to sixty thousand dollars, between the University and the primary schools, and there would be an ample sum for both."

Again he bitterly reproaches his native State for its apathy to education. "The little we have, we import like beggars from other States, or import their beggars to bestow on us their miserable crumbs. And what is wanted to restore us to our station among our equals? Not more money from the people. Enough has been raised by them and appropriated to this very object. It is that it should be employed understandingly, and for their great good."

When the session of the General Assembly for 1820-21 opened, Jefferson was as fixed as ever in his resolution to obtain a large appropriation from the State for the benefit of the University. Cabell informed him

that the condition of the Literary Fund was, at this time, so parched that its revenue would, perhaps, not be sufficient to pay the annuities; and if a surplus should be proven to exist, it would be so small that it would afford but a few crumbs to the numerous mouths now wide open to receive them. He soothed Jefferson's impatient spirit by suggesting that, just so soon as the first loan to the University had been put "on the proper basis for managing it," a petition should be sent to the Legislature for authority to borrow the further sum of fifty thousand dollars.

Cabell was now suffering from an alarming weakness of the heart, and he became so dejected, in consequence, that he determined to resign his seat in the Senate; he declared that he could not, without risk of bringing himself "to the grave," expose his person to the rigor of the long rides from courthouse to courthouse in order to address his constituents. Jefferson received this entirely rational announcement with a Spartan's remonstrance. "I know well your devotion to your country and your foresight of the awful scenes coming on her sooner or later. With this foresight, what service can we ever render her equal to this? What object of our lives can we propose so important? What interest of our own which ought not to be postponed to this? Health, time, labor, on what in the single life which nature has given us can be better bestowed than on this immortal boon to our country? The exceptions and mortifications are temporary; the benefit, eternal. If any member of our College of Visitors could justifiably withdraw from this sacred duty, it would be myself, who *quadragenis stependis jam dudum peractis*, have neither vigor of body nor mind left to keep the field. But I will die in the last ditch. Do not think of deserting us, but view

the sacrifices which seem to stand in your way as the lesser duties, and such as ought to be postponed to this greatest of all. Continue with us in these holy labors until, having seen their accomplishment, we may say with old Simeon, *nunc dimittis Domine.*"

This appeal to friendship, duty, and patriotism, which reflected the sturdy and resolute spirit of the writer, was irresistible, and Cabell, in spite of his declining health, decided to retain his seat. With renewed energy and fidelity, he took up again the great work of cooperation; and so successful was he during this session (1820-21), that on February 24, the General Assembly authorized the President and Directors of the Literary Fund to make a second loan of sixty thousand dollars to the Board of Visitors for the purpose of completing the buildings, and thus enabling the University to throw open its doors at an earlier day than had, for some time, been anticipated. Jefferson, it will be recollected, had, during some years, been inclined to disparage the usefulness of the College of William and Mary,—perhaps, because it was still a rival to be counted with. This feeling, on his part, was aggravated at this time by the opposition which the friends of that institution raised to the passage of the Act of February 24,—a fact which should be borne in mind when we come, at a later stage, to describe the rather ruthless way in which he endeavored to deprive the College of its endowment fund after he had used his powerful influence to frustrate its purpose of removing from Williamsburg to Richmond, a step, at that time, apparently imperative, if it was to continue to exist at all. Cabell happened to be seated in the Senate chamber, just above the hall of the House of Delegates, when the Loan bill passed the latter body; and his first intimation of its success was obtained from the tumultuous clap-

ping of hands with which the upshot of the voting was received by its supporters.

XII. *Fight for Appropriations, Continued*

There is an amusing side to the almost nervous eagerness with which Cabell started in at once to discourage his persistent co-worker at Monticello from looking upon this second loan as simply a spur to another application to the General Assembly for money. Jefferson's attitude towards appropriations for the University was very much in the spirit of the Frenchman's definition of gratitude: he was never satisfied with what he was able to drag out of the reluctant Legislature,—it was always the favors to come, and not those already received, which he kept in view. No one understood better than he how much expenditure was required to complete the University in the grand manner which he thought indispensable; and his eye, therefore, was never withdrawn from the future appropriation, however much he might be pleased with the past one.

"It is the anxious wish of our best friends," wrote Cabell, who was uneasily conscious of this peculiarity of his correspondent, "and of no one more than myself, that the money now granted may be sufficient to finish the buildings. We must not come here again on that subject. These successive applications for money to finish the buildings give grounds of reproach to our enemies, and draw our friends into difficulties with their constituents." On March 10, he wrote again in the same strain. The Legislature, he now hints, may indirectly force the Board of Visitors to throw open the doors before the University is completed, by requiring the unencumbered part of the annuity to be reserved for the payment of the

salaries of the professors. "The popular cry," he adds, "is that there is too much finery, too much extravagance." In April, he was convinced that the University had lost ground of late among the great body of the people. How was the public confidence in the institution to be restored and strengthened? "By a call upon all the friends of literature and science in the State to see that their influence was directed to the choice of the very best men in each community for the next Assembly." He repeated with alarm the censorious utterances of the Presbyterians at Hampden-Sidney College, and of the Episcopalians at the College of William and Mary. "I learn that the former sect, or rather the clergy of that sect, in their synods and presbyteries talk much of the University. They believe, I am informed, that the Socinians are to be installed at the University for the purpose of overthrowing the prevailing religious opinions of the country." It is quite possible that this preposterous suggestion had its fountain-head, not so much with the denomination to which it was attributed by rumor, as with the opponents of further loans to the University within the ranks of the General Assembly itself. Not long after the session of 1821-22 began, Mr. Griffin, of the House of Delegates, endeavored, in a private interview with Cabell, to ascertain whether the University would desist from asking for more appropriations, should the Legislature consent to cancel its bonds. On that condition alone would the debt be released. Cabell declined emphatically to give the pledge, and his supporters in the Assembly, anticipating Jefferson's indignation at such a proposition, heartily approved his reply.

Whilst this tortuous and ceaseless struggle for State assistance was going on, Jefferson was threatened with disability in the use of the only weapon which he had at

his immediate disposal. When, during the session of 1821-22, Cabell asked him to write to numerous influential members of the Assembly in support of the University, he replied, "You do not know, my dear sir, how great is my physical inability to write. The joints of my right wrist and fingers, in consequence of an ancient dislocation, are become so stiffened that I can write but at the pace of a snail. The copying of our report and my letter lately sent to the Governor, being seven pages, employed me laboriously a whole week. The letter I am writing has taken me two days. A letter of a page or two costs me a day of labor, and of painful labor." But this fact did not permanently curb his industry, or diminish his assiduity in pushing the cause which he had so closely at heart. Estimating in January, 1822, the amount still required for the completion of the buildings at \$55,564, he started in to secure the release of the annuities for the years 1822 and 1823 from the interest charges imposed by the Legislature; and he even had the quiet hardihood to ask for a substantial increase in the allotted fifteen thousand dollars. In the meanwhile, the obstacles which Cabell as spokesman had to overcome grew more numerous and alarming. He still ascribed many of the stones in his way to the influence of the clergy. "William and Mary," he wrote in January, 1822, "has conciliated them. It is represented that they are to be excluded from the University. . . . I have made overtures of free communication with Mr. Rice, and shall take occasion to call on Bishop Moore. I do not know that I shall touch on this delicate point with either of them. But I wish to consult these heads of the church and ask their opinions."

While Cabell, in this state of perplexity, was turning from one group of opponents to another, in the hope of

bending them all to his purpose, he received a suggestion from Jefferson which, for a short interval, shifted his attention elsewhere. It appears that, during the war of 1812-15, when the British, having landed on the Patuxent, were threatening to invade the Northern Neck, the State, not having time to obtain pecuniary assistance from the National Government, borrowed a large amount from the Richmond banks, upon which it had since been compelled to pay a high rate of interest. After the war, a claim was entered at Washington for the reimbursement, not only of the principal, but of this interest also. The principal was promptly paid, but not the interest. It was the State's claim to the latter which Jefferson hoped would be transferred in part at least to the University. The accumulated interest due amounted to several hundred thousand dollars; but so small was the prospect of its being paid that Cabell said that an effort to secure it was "like working for a dead horse." Nevertheless, he was convinced that a petition for the appropriation of this prospective fund was the only one which the Assembly, at that time, would consider with favor. "The members," he wrote in January (1822), "seem liberal in giving lands in the moon. . . . Some of our friends are much dissatisfied with what is called the intended Dead Horse bill; but all estimate it is better than nothing."

But Jefferson and himself did not allow so precarious a hope as this to keep them from pressing for some substantial advantage from the General Assembly. In February (1822), a bill was submitted which provided for the suspension of interest on the loans during five years, and also arranged for the final extinguishment of principal and interest by means of the amount to be collected from the Central Government. There was now a fac-

tion in the Assembly which was urging the transfer to the State treasury of the entire Literary Fund, on the ground that the sum annually granted for the education of the poor had been loosely spent; and this wing, combining with those members who were opposed to giving aid to the University, was successful in defeating, not only the bill which would have liquidated the University's debt, should the Government pay the interest claim, but also the bill suggested by Jefferson, which, had it been enacted, would have authorized the interest charge on the University annuity to be temporarily suspended. Perhaps, the Legislature was not so niggard as it appears to have been from this action, for there was still a widely dispersed report that economy had not been shown so far in the erection of buildings; and that this wastefulness was likely to continue.

Were the two co-workers disheartened? If so, only for a very short period, for hardly had a new session begun in December (1822) when Cabell decided to obtain the General Assembly's consent to a loan of fifty thousand dollars for the building of the Rotunda, and at the same time to secure the passage of an Act that would place the University's obligations on the footing of the other debts of the Commonwealth, which would bring about their ultimate extinction along with those debts. "Let us have nothing to do with the old balances, or dead horses, or escheated lands," he said to Jefferson, "but ask boldly to be exonerated from our debts by the powerful sinking fund of the State. This is manly and dignified legislation, and if we fail, the blame will not be ours."

William C. Rives, it seems, had already put the interrogatory to Jefferson: "Which would you prefer, the remission of the principal debt or an advance for the erec-

tion of the Library?" Very emphatically and characteristically, and shrewdly too, Jefferson replied, "Without question, the latter. Of all things the most important is the completion of the buildings. The remission of the debt will come of itself. It is already remitted in the minds of every man, even of the enemies of the institution. . . . The great object of our aim from the beginning has been to make the establishment the most eminent in the United States, in order to draw to it the youth of every State, but especially of the South and West. . . . The opening of the institution in a half state of readiness would be the most fatal step which could be adopted. It would be an impatience defeating its own object by putting on a subordinate character in the outset, which never would be shaken off, instead of opening largely and in full system. Taking our stand on commanding ground at once will beckon everything to it, and a reputation once established will maintain itself for ages. To secure this, a single sum of fifty or sixty thousand dollars is wanting. If we cannot get it now, we will at another trial. Courage and patience is the watchword."

This sagacious advice, accompanied by words so convincing and so inspiring, prevailed. Cabell wrote on the 30th of the same month that the University's friends in the General Assembly had agreed almost unanimously to solicit a loan of sixty thousand dollars, and, for the present, to cease all agitation in favor of the State's assumption of the debt. "We propose," he said with a politician's astuteness, "to move for one object at a time in order not to unite the enemies of both measures against one bill. Should we succeed in getting the loan, we may afterwards try to get rid of the debt." The bill authorizing the loan having passed the House, was

adopted by the Senate on February 5 (1823). During the discussion in the House, William F. Gordon highly distinguished himself in his advocacy of the measure; and on February 10, he submitted a resolution calling upon the Committee of Finance to report "the best means of paying off the debts of the University"; but, the members being of the opinion that enough assistance for the present had been extended to the institution, it was rejected by a large majority; and that majority was still larger when a similar resolution, offered by George Loyall, was voted upon the ensuing day. There was an impression in the Assembly that the friends of the University were asking for too much at one session, and this soon created a disposition to censure and obstruct them; but, in self-defense, they urged, that, as they had found both the House and the Senate more kindly disposed towards the University than they had been during several years, it seemed to be only the part of common sense to take the utmost advantage of the prevailing and, perhaps, evanescent, feeling.

Two days before the final passage of the bill, Cabell had written to Jefferson, "We must never come here again for money to erect buildings. . . . Should the funds fall short, I would rather ask for money hereafter to pay off old debts than to finish the Library."¹ Cocke advised that all these debts should be liquidated first, and that, afterwards, the cost of the Rotunda should be made to conform to such surplus as remained. Already by March 24,—barely a month after the authority was given to borrow sixty thousand dollars for the completion of the buildings,—both Cabell and Cocke were apprehensive lest the "old sachem" should be contemplating another call upon the Legislature for financial aid.

¹ The word "Library" is used here in the sense of "Rotunda."

"It appears to me," Cabell wrote to him, "that the plan you have adopted of engaging for the hull of the Library is a prudent one. I earnestly hope that the house may be got in a condition to be used with the proceeds of the last loan, and that we may be able to make this assurance to the next Assembly when we apply for the remission. Mr. Doddridge requested me to state that he had supported this third loan, but that his patience was worn out, and that another application could not and would not be received. . . . There is a powerful party in this State with whom it is almost a passport to reputation to condemn the plan and management of the University. . . . Perhaps, this may be the result of old political conflicts."

Some impression seems to have been made on Jefferson by these half unreserved, half hinted remonstrances, for his next step was to apply for the remission of the interest on the loans. In the report for October 6, 1823, he informed the General Assembly that the University could be opened at the end of 1824, should the annuity, in the meanwhile, be released from the burden of its incumbrances. He intimated that, should this be refused, no just reason for complaint would exist if the doors were to continue tightly closed indefinitely. The charge for interest on \$180,000, the amount of the loans, would be \$10,800, and two or three thousand dollars more would be required to keep the finished buildings in repair. As this would leave a surplus of only about two thousand dollars for the redemption of \$180,000, it would be necessary for an interval of twenty-five years to go by before the principal could be expected even to approximate liquidation. "This," Jefferson remarked, with dry sarcasm, "is a time two distant for the education of any person

already born, or to be born for some time to come; and in that period, a great expense will be incurred in the mere preservation of the buildings and the apparatus."

In December (1823), Cabell was able to say with confidence that there was a rising sentiment in the State favorable to the remission, not simply of the interest, but of the entire debt. This new feeling was to be attributed either to impatience with Jefferson's patent determination to keep the University shut up until it was fully completed, or to admiration for his stubborn and disinterested zeal in its behalf. Prematurely it would appear, Cabell wrote, on the 29th, that the National Government had finally passed affirmatively on the State's claim to interest on the advances made during the war of 1812-15. Had this been really so, there would have been added at once to the principal of the Literary Fund an amount so large as to produce a surplus in interest sufficient to supply the University's needs in the way of books for the library and apparatus for the laboratories. There was, during the session of 1823-24, no prospect of obtaining a further sum for building; but as the purchase of books and apparatus would indicate an intention to throw open the lecture-rooms at an early date, the General Assembly, Cabell thought, might be willing to make an appropriation for that purpose out of the surplus of the Literary Fund. "Am I right in supposing," he inquired of Jefferson in February, 1824, "that fifty thousand dollars, payable in ten annual instalments, for the purchase of books and apparatus, with a power to the Visitors to anticipate the money for those purposes only, would be a good measure next to be adopted? I am thinking of it." "Perhaps," he writes three days later, "forty thousand dollars would be more apt to succeed." Jefferson was confident that not a cent less than the latter sum

would be required. While the two friends were debating as to the exact amount to be asked of the General Assembly, that body became so impatient for the University to begin its career that, in January, 1824, it relieved the Board of the obligation to pay interest on its bonds and imposed the whole amount of that charge upon the surplus revenue of the Literary Fund. This proved that Jefferson had whirled his club with success; but how was the fifty thousand dollars needed for the purchase of books and apparatus to be obtained?

Cabell now sprang a stratagem on the Assembly, which kindled an angry flame both without and within the walls of the capitol. The Farmers' Bank, at this time, was petitioning the General Assembly for the renewal of its charter. Here was an opportunity to be pounced upon; and this he promptly did with a glee which he was unable to repress in his report to Jefferson. "I kept my secret even from the Visitors, and my brother, and most intimate friends," he said. The House of Delegates passed the bill without requiring any proviso, but when it came up in the Senate, he moved that the charter should only be renewed on condition that the bank should pay the University a bonus of fifty thousand dollars. Seventeen of the Senators went over to his side; the rest bitterly opposed him. Elsewhere also, as he expressed it, he stirred up "a hornet's nest." The whole number of the stockholders, debtors, directors, and officers combined, "in the midst of a prodigious ferment," to combat and defeat the proposition; and the majority in the Senate, under this pressure from the outside, quickly fell away. In spite of this fact, Cabell kept up the fight, but without success. He found a dubious compensation for his failure in the action of the General Assembly, on March 6, 1824, in empowering the Board of Visitors to receive, for the

University's benefit, fifty thousand dollars of the money which the National Government was expected to pay.

Before this sum could be collected it would be necessary for him to concentrate on Congress the full force of his extraordinary powers of persuasion. A bill, introduced in the House of Representatives by James Barbour, authorizing the payment of the interest as legally due, had failed. Cabell endeavored in vain to prevail on Jefferson to draft a memorial to that body to show how this interest, should it be recovered, was to be spent. The claim offered the only prospect of obtaining the funds needed, for Cabell admitted that the General Assembly's liberality was exhausted. He visited Washington in April to press it, and on his arrival there, found that it was in a state of suspension. A meeting of the Virginia delegation was held, and Barbour was instructed to bring the claim before the War Department, which quickly recommended that Congress should settle it. Monroe was now President, and Cabell wrote to him on the subject, with full knowledge of his interest in the University, and his willingness to assist it by every influence that he could legitimately employ. Monroe was now told that, so soon as Congress should recognize the claim as just, the General Assembly would order an equal amount to be advanced out of the Literary Fund, in anticipation of its reimbursement by the Government.

XIII. *Removal of William and Mary College*

While the claim against the Government was in a state of suspense, there arose before the watchful eyes of the two protagonists the prospect of securing an endowment fund in another quarter; and for some time, afterwards, their energies seemed to have been diverted from the

pursuit of a legislative appropriation. In a letter which Cabell wrote Jefferson from Williamsburg in May, 1824, there occurs the following curt but pregnant sentence: "A scheme is now in agitation at this place, the object of which is to remove the College of William and Mary to the City of Richmond." He acknowledged that, with the exception of the professor of law, every member of the Faculty favored the transfer. The College, in spite of the broadening of its courses of instruction, and the devotion and ability of President Smith, had been dwindling in prosperity, and it was expected that transplantation to Richmond, where a practical school of medicine, rendered possible by hospital facilities, could be engrafted on it, would arrest the progress of this decay, which threatened it with ultimate ruin. It was anticipated too that the new site in the capital of the State would restore some of that prestige which it had formerly derived from its location at the seat of Government.

The endowment of the College of William and Mary, at this time, was about one hundred thousand dollars, the largest fund in the possession of any institution situated in Virginia. So soon as he was informed of the design to remove the College to Richmond, it occurred to Cabell that this endowment fund might be taken from it, and laid out in the establishment of the series of intermediate academies which Jefferson had always advocated. "We were told some winters ago by the College party," he said, "'we do not want a university — we want preparatory seminaries over the whole face of the country.'" From this arbitrary attitude on his part, there was, for a moment, a generous revulsion of feeling. "To oppose an institution struggling to save itself," he remarked, "and to thwart the natural endeavors of literary men to advance their fortunes, is truly painful." Then the feel-

ing subsidies, and loyalty to the supposed interests of the University comes back. "Are we," he adds, "to suffer the labors of so many years to be blasted by an unnecessary and destructive competition? Most assuredly, we must not."

Jefferson was very much startled by the project of transplanting the College. "It is a case of a pregnant character," he replied to Cabell, "admitting important issues, and requiring serious consideration and conduct." It is plain that, like Cabell, he looked upon the plan of removal as carrying in its bosom a very grave peril to the welfare of the University. How far was he really justified in taking this view? On its face, at least, the attitude of almost unscrupulous hostility which he now assumed towards the ancient College, his alma mater, in its hour of pecuniary difficulty, appears to be discreditable to himself and to the institution which he had founded in the noblest spirit of liberty and equality. What can be said in his defense? As we have seen, he had a very exaggerated conception of the advantages which a seat of learning would enjoy, if it were established in the capital of the State. Had Williamsburg remained that capital, he would have looked upon the College of William and Mary as a far more powerful rival to contend with than it was now, because it would, through that fact, have been able to retain its original dignity and influence. A university was an institution, which, in his opinion, bore a direct relation to the civic duties of the people, and where could this function of educating citizens be so fully carried out as on the spot where the central administration was at work? Remove the College of William and Mary to Richmond, and with its large permanent fund, it would soon recover its prestige, and the prosperity which it had lost when Williamsburg ceased to be the capital.

As Richmond was necessarily the first city of Virginia, so an old and highly endowed college, like the College of William and Mary, replanted there, must also become the first seat of learning in the State.

Jefferson, as revealed by the numerous quotations from his letters already given, was always apprehensive that something might occur which would lower the University of Virginia to the level of the two principal subordinate colleges of the Commonwealth, Washington and Hampden-Sidney. It was a practical feeling which caused him to be so solicitous for its prestige. This feeling had led him, apart from any appreciation of architectural beauty, to erect the splendid group of buildings at Charlottesville. Without such buildings, he believed that it would be hopeless to engage European professors of the first order of talents and learning, and without that cast of instructors, the institution, being young, would start without distinction. It was the same sort of far-sightedness that now caused him to oppose the removal of the College of William and Mary, for it seemed to foreshadow a new rivalry that might, in some measure, overcloud the dreams of greatness in which he indulged for his own university. Had the latter been underway, with a corps of foreign scholars lecturing to large classes, he would probably have accepted the thought of this future rivalry with far less acrimony, and shown more tolerance and magnanimity in anticipating it.

The apparently ungenerous and inconsistent spirit of hostility which he displayed perhaps had its origin, in a measure, in two additional reasons of a more definite character. Jefferson must have tacitly recognized, although he never directly admitted the fact, that one of the important deficiencies in the course of studies which he had projected for the University was the entire absence

of hospital facilities. Without those facilities, a medical school, independently of anatomy, must always remain principally an historical school, a school of theory, a descriptive rather than a practically illustrative school. Richmond, on the other hand, even in those times, offered the clinical advantages which the village of Charlottesville entirely lacked. Was not the University's medical school bound to sink at once to a subordinate position, should the College of William and Mary be put in possession of all the facilities for a practical medical education which that city abundantly afforded? A second, and perhaps as important a reason for his opposition, was to be discerned in the fact that the capital of the State was the home of John Marshall and of a coterie of Federalists of great distinction. Their influence, in time, might control the whole political spirit of the transplanted College, and thus be able to spread the poison of their dangerous principles of a centralized government throughout the atmosphere of Virginia and the South.

So soon as Jefferson had fully taken in the menace which he was convinced would follow the removal of the College, he began to devise the means to defeat the project, and in doing so, allowed no sense of loyalty or gratitude to his alma mater, no recollection of his own great principle of equal opportunities to all and special privileges to none, to shake his will or palsy his energy. In the fixity of his purpose, he did not stop at the mere frustration of the ancient College's plan of re-establishment elsewhere, but even aimed to destroy it on the very ground on which it stood by transferring its funds, in whole or in part, to his own seat of learning. "When it was found," he wrote to Cabell on May 16, 1824, "that that seminary was entirely ineffectual towards the object of public education, and that one on a better plan, and in a better sit-

uation, must be provided, what was so obvious as to employ, for that purpose, the funds of the one abandoned, with what more was necessary to raise the new establishment? And what so obvious as to do now what might reasonably have been done then, by consolidating the two institutions and their funds? . . . The hundred thousand dollars of principal which you say still remains to William and Mary, by its interest of \$6,000, would give us the two deficient professors, with an annual surplus for the purchase of books."

Comprehending, perhaps, that it would be impolitic to show such a naked hand, Jefferson pressed upon Cabell the wisdom of "saying as little as possible on this whole subject." "Give them no alarm," he added; "let them petition for the removal, let them get the old structure completely on wheels, and not until then put in our claim." Seated under the serene roof of Monticello, at a remote distance from all the persons who were anxious for the change, and insensible to the memories of the youthful years spent in Williamsburg, he was not in a position, or the mood, to understand the weight of the influences, which, after awhile, made his coadjutor disposed to modify his attitude of hostility. As the months passed on, the transplantation became the subject of still hotter public debate; and Cabell was so much impressed by the arguments in its favor, that he informed Jefferson, in December, that he had decided to vote for the measure, provided that the College would consent to be brought under the control of the General Assembly. What did he mean by the expression, "control of the General Assembly"? Its purport, he said, was that the Assembly should have the power to "reduce the capital of the College, leaving a moiety here (Richmond), and transferring the residue to Winchester and Hampden-Sidney, or other points in

the State connected with the general system." "It would be utterly impracticable," he added, "to procure any portion for the University"; and he, with great earnestness, urged Jefferson to abandon "every such idea, if any plan of the kind had ever been formed."

The short interval of four days had hardly vanished before Cabell's views underwent again what he described as "a material change." He had, as we have just seen, contemplated a compromise, in order, as he expressed it, to avoid the appearance of illiberality. Subsequent reflection, he said, had convinced him that he ought to vote against the removal. In taking this course, he added, "I oppose the wishes of my nearest and dearest relatives and friends." Indeed, no one among them condemned this new decision with more brusqueness and pungency than his own brother, William H. Cabell, a former Governor of the State, and during many years, the President of the Court of Appeals. His letter is worthy of reproduction in full as throwing a vivid light on the social penalties which Cabell was now inviting by his apparently unreasonable and inequitable loyalty to the supposed interests of the University. If his own brother could not restrain his impatience, it may be clearly perceived what a flood of censure he had to encounter from less kindly critics.

"Do you think it possible," wrote W. H. Cabell, "that Smith and Company (the President and Faculty of the College) can ever make the people of Virginia consider William and Mary, when removed, as the rival of the University? It would be as easy to believe that the frog could swell himself to the size of the ox. The indirect means which the friends of the University have been forced to adopt, in obtaining money from the Legislature, have excited strong hostility in many quarters against

them and the University. Here is a good opportunity of soothing the public mind by showing that there is no disposition to sacrifice everything to the University, but that the advancement of the cause of literature had been the real principle. The friends of William and Mary ask no money from the Legislature. They ask only that the College may be removed to a place where its present funds may be employed advantageously for the public, and I think, and all with whom I have conversed, think, advantageously to the University. . . . The short and long of the affair is that I really think it would ill become the friends of the University, who have got for that institution so much of the public money, now to oppose the wishes of a large portion of the State to remove another institution, already endowed, to a place where it will be made more useful to the public than it is now. . . . As a friend of the University, I would, if I were in the Assembly, aid the removal with all my heart, and I should be happy, if you could take the same view of the subject. I believe it would tend to remove some of those jealousies and heart burnings which your earnest zeal for the University, has, however unjustly, excited towards you. To oppose the removal is attributed to motives of interest, to that sort of feeling that actuated the dog in the manger, and to seize on the funds without the consent of the professors would be to abandon all respect for those laws which protect property. . . . I have taken up more time on this subject, because I have been much concerned at the strange lengths, as they seem to me, to which your zeal for the University has unknowingly carried you, — lengths to which, I believe, no man in the Commonwealth is willing to go, except, perhaps, a Visitor of the University, — lengths which excite the surprise and concern of all your friends."

Having finally determined to oppose the transplantation of the College, Cabell refused to yield to the remonstrances and reproaches of friends, and remained indifferent to the acrimony and obloquy of enemies. In this course, he was sustained by his repeated communications with Jefferson, who marshalled his arguments against the College, and in favor of the University, with consummate vigor and plausibility.

Jefferson seems to have taken it for granted that, even if the General Assembly should permit the College's removal, the funds in its possession would be distributed. As he looked at it, there was some benefit to be expected, no matter what should be the upshot of the controversy: if the College remained in Williamsburg, there would be no further cause for apprehension on the score of competition; if, on the other hand, it was re-established in Richmond, it should, in return, for the advantages of this new situation, give up the whole or, at least, the larger part of its endowment for the erection of the district academies. In his enthusiasm over the prospect of carrying out this part of his original plan of public instruction, by the use of the funds of the older institution, he seems to have accepted with philosophy Cabell's prediction that the University would not be directly benefited pecuniarily by the removal. He foresaw, in the creation of the academies, a full compensation for this, for he was confident that they would prove to be a means, not only of preparing students for entry into his own establishment, but also of raising up a well-informed body of yeomanry. "This occasion of completing our system of education is a god-send," he exclaimed, "I certainly would not propose that the University should claim a cent of these funds in competition with the district colleges." This letter was shown to numerous members of the General Assembly.

Chapman Johnson promptly and emphatically denied the State's right, under the charter of the College, to dispose of the latter's funds as Jefferson had suggested. It was generally thought that, whether the Commonwealth possessed this right or not, a distribution, during that term, at least, would not be authorized by the Legislature. In the meanwhile, a resolution was submitted, but not pressed, that pointed out the supposed injustice of permitting the College's transfer to Richmond without forfeiting a portion of its endowment for the benefit of other sections of Virginia. Early in the session, Cabell reported that the College's petition was losing ground, but that there was no prospect as yet of the adoption of Jefferson's plan for the use of its funds. "This measure," he said, "was too bold for the present state of the public mind. We will not bring it forward as an original proposition, but should there be occasion, as a substitute for the measure of removal to this place. The hostile party . . . report that you have sent orders to the Assembly to plunder the College and bribe the different parts of the State."

Jefferson's sensibilities seemed to have been wounded by the animus rather than by the pertinency of this accusation. "The attempt," he replied, "in which I have embarked so earnestly, to procure an improvement in the moral condition of my native State, although in other States it may have strengthened good dispositions (towards me), it has certainly weakened them in my own. The attempt ran foul of so many local interests, of so many personal views, and of so much ignorance, and I have been considered as so particularly its promoter, that I see evidently a great change of sentiment towards myself. . . . It is from posterity we are to expect remuneration for the sacrifice we are making for their service, of

time, quiet, and present good will. And I fear not the appeal. The multitude of fine young men, who will feel that they owe to us the elevation of mind, of character and station they shall be able to attain from the result of our efforts, will ensure us their remembrance with gratitude."

The confidence with which Cabell had anticipated the failure of the College's petition was suddenly shaken by a change in the Assembly's attitude. In January (1825), he unexpectedly informed Jefferson that there was now an increasing danger that the advocates of removal would be able to obtain a decisive vote in their favor; but there was one device, he said, by which they could yet be thwarted, and this was to bring in a bill to appropriate the funds of the College to the establishment of the system of district academies. "Delay is all we want," he exclaimed, "so as to get the representatives of the people away from the Richmond parties, and to give the people the power to act. I beseech you to prepare a bill immediately and send it as quickly as possible by mail. . . . Let the funds be equally divided among the districts whatever they may be. Give me but this bill, and I think I will yet defeat them."

Jefferson received this letter on January 21 (1825), and by the following evening, he had drafted the bill and deposited it in the post. "I am so worn down by the drudgery," he stated in enclosing it, "that I can write little now." By the 28th, it had reached Cabell's hands. "I shall keep it as private as possible," he replied, in acknowledging its arrival. "The opposite party are triumphing in anticipation, but I think we will yet defeat them." He now published a very able letter in the *Constitutional Whig*, over the signature of "A Friend to Science," in which he quoted at length from the *Plan*

for *Public Education* which had been drafted by Jefferson in 1817. The object of this was to be able, when the trap was sprung, to point out that the plan was not a new one, but had been matured some years before the question of removing the College to Richmond had come up, or the suggestion put forth of dividing its funds for the benefit of the district academies. He again admitted that the public mind was "not prepared for so bold a measure"; "but," he added, "if I am not mistaken, it will enable us to defeat the scheme of removal."

His prediction turned out to be correct, for, on February 7, he was able to announce that the College's petition had been denied by a majority of twenty-four votes. "But," said he, no doubt to Jefferson's keen disappointment, "our friends and myself concur in thinking that it would be improper to bring in the bill for dividing the funds of the College. . . . My friends assure me that the essay under the signature of 'A Friend to Science,' with the extracts from your letter and bill . . . broke the ranks of the opposition completely. . . . Richmond is now *hors de combat*." This was the end of the controversy. The College of William and Mary remained on its original site, and the bill for the distribution of its funds, which had been used as such a powerful instrument to prevent its removal, was not again revived. There is no just ground for supposing that, had the ancient College been re-planted in Richmond, it would have become a ruinous competitor of the University. It had a moral and a legal right alike to establish itself there, and the part which Jefferson and Cabell took in balking that right, forms the only chapter in the history of the University of Virginia which is darkened by the spirit of an illiberal and ungenerous policy,—a policy, indeed, only relieved from the taint of positive unscrupulousness by the fact that

it was dictated, not by personal selfishness, but by the supposed welfare of a great institution, struggling to get upon its feet, in the midst of numerous influences destructive, not simply of its success, but of its very existence.

The Committee on Claims in the House of Representatives had recommended the payment of the interest due the State of Virginia on advances made during the War of 1812-15, but the majority in favor was only one, and Jefferson, in February, 1826, admitted that it had still a long gauntlet to run before it could pass the House itself. In the meanwhile, however, the rents from the dormitories and other buildings offered the supplementary resource needed for the expenses of the moment.

So far unable to secure the approval of the interest claim by Congress, and hesitating to go to the Legislature for an independent appropriation while that measure was pending, both Cabell and Jefferson heartily favored the resuscitation of Jefferson's Bill for Public Education, drafted in 1817-18. The Garland bill, now before the General Assembly, authorized the establishment of twenty-four district colleges; but the Jefferson bill was considered by Cabell to be preferable, provided that it should be so altered that the local districts would be required to contribute at their own expense the land and buildings that would be needed. Under the terms of this bill, should it become law, the University would acquire from \$25,000 to \$32,000, which would be sufficient to complete the Rotunda and Anatomical Hall. This indirect measure for obtaining money for the institution, however, ended in disappointment, for the State was not yet ripe for any broad and costly scheme of public instruction.

In addition to the appropriations by the General Assembly, a very considerable sum was collected from the persons who had signed the original subscription list.

We referred, in the history of Central College, to the large amount which was promised by the friends of learning in many parts of the State for the erection of that institution. As the time for the payment of these contributions was spread over several years, most of the instalments only matured after the incorporation of the University. On November 23, 1822, the balance still due was estimated at \$18,440. By September, 1823, \$4,828.77 of this sum had been paid in; \$2,069.88 more was collected by September, 1824; \$2,734.89 by September, 1825; and \$644.85 by September, 1826. The residue outstanding on September 30 of that year was \$8,161.68. So long as there were other funds available for the building, the Board of Visitors determined that it would be inexpedient to press those among the subscribers who were delinquent; but when there arose a danger of these obligations lapsing, an agent was employed to collect the remaining sums. In the end, of the \$43,808 originally subscribed, only \$4,500 proved to be desperate, and a large proportion of this had become so only because some of the subscribers had emigrated to other States or had sunk into insolvency. The Board had considered it unwise to base on the last collections any stipulations which required punctuality in their fulfilment. They had reserved this money while still unpaid as a supplementary and contingent fund, to form a part of the general revenue as it dribbled in, and only to be used in covering up errors in estimating the cost of particular buildings.

XIV. *System of Education*

The founding of the University of Virginia was not confined solely to erecting a stately group of edifices,

which would, with equal splendor and comfort, furnish dwelling-houses for the teachers and pupils, and halls for the lectures, recitations, and scientific experiments. The adoption of a course of studies, the selection of professors, the purchase of a useful library, and the organization of a system of administration, were as preliminary and as essential to the completion of that work as the laying of the brick and stone, the hoisting of the capitals, the moulding and painting of the entablatures, the construction of pillar and portico, cornice and arcade, sloping roof and rounded dome. These we now propose to consider in turn, in detail, as supplementary to the actual building.

Jefferson, it will be recalled, had very often expressed his conviction as to what departments of knowledge should be embraced in the platform of instruction of every higher institution of learning. On the seventh of April, 1824, before the Rotunda had been finished, the Board of Visitors, under his guidance, adopted a scheme of studies which was precisely the same in general character as the one recommended by himself in the Rockfish Gap Report. The chair of anatomy was only omitted because the poverty of the funds did not, at that time, supply the amount needed for an additional salary; but on October 6, of the same year, this deficiency was removed. The several schools prescribed on that date, in anticipation of the opening of the University in the ensuing February, comprised the following: I.—Ancient Languages: Latin, Greek and Hebrew; and there were to be taught in the same school in addition, belles-lettres, rhetoric, ancient history, and ancient geography; II.—Modern Languages: French, Italian, Spanish, German, and English in its Anglo-Saxon form, while modern history and modern geography were also to be included in the same course; III.—Mathematics in all its branches, to which

was to be appended military and civil architecture; IV.—Natural Philosophy: the laws and properties of bodies in general, such as mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, acoustics, and optics; and the science of astronomy was also to be attached to this chair; V.—Natural History: the sciences of botany, mineralogy, zoology, chemistry, geology and rural economy; VI.—Anatomy and Medicine: the sciences of anatomy and surgery, the history of the progress and theories of medicine, physiology, pathology, materia medica, and pharmacy; VII.—Moral Philosophy: the science of the mind, general grammar, and ethics; and VIII.—Law: common and statute law, chancery law, federal law, civil and mercantile law, law of nature and nations, and the principles of government and political science.

The eight broad courses of study embraced in this short but pregnant list represent the three prime divisions of the Higher Education; namely, the disciplinary, the scientific, and the vocational. In their association in that list, they resembled three great apartments, entirely distinct from each other, but so closely connected as to be standing under the same roof. As a whole, the scheme was not more disciplinary than scientific, nor more scientific than vocational. It reflected an equal respect for the humanistic studies, which are essential to the intellectual cultivation of men, and the practical studies, which fortify their physical well-being, and enhance their worldly prosperity. The follower of Locke, who looked upon education as precious for its intellectual drill rather than for the facts learned, would have detected in it enough to satisfy his requirement, while the pupil of the modern Spencer, in spite of his exclusive and intolerant convictions, would have been unable to reject it altogether.

There was the classical course for mental discipline; there was the scientific course for practical knowledge in general; there was the vocational course for equipment for a special pursuit. Utilitarian and rationalistic in spirit as Jefferson was, he did not regard all education as only useful so far as it prepared its recipient for a calling in life. The culture of the moral and intellectual sides of the individual was, in his view, of incalculable benefit in itself, independently of its influence in sharpening the capacity for winning success in some future business or profession. Pestalozzi, it will be remembered, placed the Latin and Greek languages in the class of studies that were interesting only as curiosities. On the other hand, Jefferson, who admired the methods of that revolutionary teacher, and had as just an esteem for Real Knowledge as the Germans themselves, nevertheless reckoned the value of classical learning as high as Milton or Johnson, and would have looked upon his system as radically incomplete had not the ancient languages been included; and he would have considered it to be equally defective had not the most important natural sciences also been brought within its scope.

Apart from the catholicity and perfect equilibrium that distinguished the course of studies thus selected, the general scheme possessed three practical features of an uncommon character: (1) the division into schools; (2) the ability of each school to expand more or less as the funds of the institution increased; and (3) the unhindered right of election which the student enjoyed instead of his being bound down to an inflexible curriculum. It will be seen hereafter that, when Jefferson came to draw up rules to govern the choice of professors, he revealed his dislike of single attainments, however great, by requiring that the men to be selected should be so broadly

qualified that they could converse with ease with each colleague on the subject which that colleague was employed to teach; and yet by this division into schools, he created a powerful influence for the production of specialists, which his elective system was to confirm and make absolute.

Each school was confined to one great subject of study. At the start, a single professor was in charge of each school, but with a larger attendance of students, and a rising income, the number was increased. Thus arose what were designated as departments, which, in every instance, were devoted to the study of at least one branch of one fundamental subject. In 1851, the School of Law was subdivided into two departments,¹ which were under the direction of two professors; and in a broader manner, the School of Ancient Languages expanded into two schools in 1856, when the single chair was abandoned, and the course in Latin was taken up by one professor, and the course in Greek by another.

Each of the original schools of 1824 was independent of the rest; each not only had an exclusive property in its professor, but possessed, in that professor's pavilion, an academic building of its own, in which its students were required to assemble from day to day in their private lecture-hall. In the beginning, each of these pavilions, as we have stated, was expected to cost as much as one of the intermediate academies which Jefferson had so carefully planned as the secondary part of his scheme of public education. His attitude towards each school and its pavilion was almost as if he looked upon the two combined as an institution as distinct as one of these dis-

¹ After 1865, some of the schools were grouped into what was then designated as Departments. Thus we have the Agricultural Department and the like made up, in each instance, of several schools. Department became the primary division, the reverse of the early rule.

strict colleges, but still, like the district college, a link in the chain of a system. The tendency of his mind seemed to be to disapprove of whatever leaned towards consolidation. His preference was always for numerous bodies held together by some sort of centripetal power, but existing and moving in their own separate orbits. The principle that he advocated in the relations of the States, he, in a different way, put in force in the establishment of these new schools, and in the regulations which he devised for their practical working. Had he been an astronomer also, it might be said of him that, as an upholder of states-rights, and as the creator of university schools, he had caught his inspiration while following the revolutions of the Heavens, where every star is at once dependent and independent.

In the curriculum that prevailed in other colleges, definite courses were assigned to the freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior years respectively, and no departure from the rule was tolerated. On the other hand, in the system of schools which Jefferson created for his university in 1824, there were to be no such limitations as these. If the student aspired to graduate in the entire round of studies provided for in the general scheme, he was to be at liberty, not only to begin and end with such as he preferred, but he was to be under no compulsion even in selecting his grades; if he wished, he was to be permitted to attend, for instance, the senior class in Latin, the intermediate class in Greek, and the junior class in mathematics during the same session. In the curriculum college, time was an element of controlling power. In Jefferson's system of schools, on the other hand, time was expected to play no part whatever. The student might pass ten years, or even twenty years, if he liked, in the endeavor, successful or unsuccessful, to graduate in one

or all of the schools; or if he had the physical strength and the intellectual capacity as well required for so extraordinary a feat, he might spend only one year in winning, or strenuously striving to win, the whole number of diplomas which the institution awarded. Each school was to confer its own diploma, and the acquisition of this single diploma was to entitle the winner as much to the designation of "Graduate of the University of Virginia" as if he had gathered in the entire eight. This fact very naturally tended to increase further the dignity of the separate school.

The diploma was to be won by the study of text-books that were to be chosen, not by the Board of Visitors, but by the professor himself. The incumbent of the chair of law alone was not to enjoy this right; for that course, from some points of view the most important of all, the text-books were to be selected by Jefferson and Madison, in accord with their own political doctrines. This was a significant departure from the principle of independence which had been adopted as the mainspring of the other schools. "In most public seminaries," Jefferson remarked in a letter to Cabell, "text-books are prescribed to each of the several schools as the *norma docendi* in that school, and this is generally done by the authority of the trustees. I should not propose it generally in our university, because I believe none of us are so much at the height of science in the several branches as to undertake this, and, therefore, it will be better left to the professors until occasion of interference be given." The conclusion thus expressed was the one suggested and confirmed by common sense. With all his versatility of knowledge, Jefferson was too wise to think that he possessed the exact as well as the varied information required of one who was called upon to select the text-books for

such a diversity of courses as those embraced in the round of at least seven of the schools. The obvious part of discretion was to leave their choice to the experts who were to fill these professorships. In the subjects of law and political economy, on the other hand, he not only felt that he was as much of a specialist as any man who might be chosen to teach those subjects, but he was fully determined that such principles alone should be imparted in both as were satisfactory to his convictions.

As one of the purposes for which the University was founded was to propagate and fortify what he considered to be the only sound principles of government, it was right, from his point of view, that he should show the utmost jealousy in restricting the professor of law to text-books which had been picked out by him with discriminating care. But in its broadest aspect, this spirit of exclusiveness,—which, it is significant, he exhibited in connection with no other school as a whole,—was inconsistent with the general character of independence which he endeavored so sedulously and so successfully to stamp upon the institution. When it came to political theories, his attitude of liberal impartiality vanished at once. A limitation of thought and action took its place.¹ The intolerance which he justly condemned in sectarianism, only too perceptibly animated him in the bent which he deliberately gave to his school of law on its political side. That school, instead of teaching the Federalist and Republican respective views of the National Government on a footing of historical and academic equality, put its emphatic *imprimatur* upon the Republican theory,

¹ In this expression reference is not intended to Jefferson's general principles of government and citizenship, but simply to those opinions which divided him from the school of Washington and Marshall, men who believed in the supremacy of the National Government under all circumstances.

with the result of giving the University a definite bias, from a purely party point of view, from the start,—a bias which, fortunately for the broad and universal usefulness of its general work, was restricted to a single school. If he went too far in his insistence upon the inculcation of his own partisan convictions only in the new University, time has corrected the possible evil effect of this exclusiveness by transferring some of his dogmas to the domain of past history, and leaving those that have survived in practice to be studied in a spirit of impartial comparison.

Secondly: While the number of schools established on the threshold was only eight, there was embedded in the whole system the elastic principle which allowed, not only expansion within each school by the broadening of its several courses of instruction through the employment of additional professors, but also an indefinite increase in the number of independent schools. We have seen that the plan of building rendered possible an unlimited extension of the double lines of pavilions and dormitories. This physical feature was adopted in anticipation both of a spreading out within the existing schools, and of the augmentation of their number. Jefferson looked forward to the time when many subjects which received but meagre consideration in his day would become an indispensable part of every general scheme of higher education. He foresaw, for instance, the importance of technical philosophy, manual training, agriculture, horticulture, veterinary surgery, and military science,—to designate only a few departments of vocational instruction. His provisions for teaching architecture and astronomy were necessarily restricted, but he laid the foundation for the acquisition of the fullest knowledge of both sciences, although time has assured ample facilities only in the

case of astronomy.¹ Had the condition of the University at the beginning allowed it, he would have set up Schools of Commerce, Manufacture, and Diplomacy. He did plan for thorough instruction in the theory of music and other arts of a similar embellishing nature. It can be asserted with accuracy that there have been few, if any, large divisions of learning added to the courses of study in any of the higher American institutions since the establishment of the University of Virginia, which Jefferson did not suggest in the various schemes of general education that he formulated from time to time in his long career, and for which his system of independent schools was so precisely adapted.

Thirdly: The adoption of the elective principle was the consistent, though not the inevitable, consequence of the first division into schools, and of the power to add new schools to the old indefinitely. The rapid increase in the number of subjects, which, in our times, have forced themselves upon the attention of teachers as indispensable to a liberal education, has compelled the introduction of elective courses even in colleges that remain loyal to the formal curriculum. Had the number of schools at the University of Virginia been permanently restricted to those adopted at first, there would have been no impediment in the way of prescribing a curriculum that would have embraced them all. But Jefferson was hostile to such a system by the sheer force of principle; and he foresaw, that, in time, with the vast expansion of knowledge, it either would become impossible in practice in his university, or would have to be so stretched that it would amount to the general right of election.

¹ Since this was written, a School of Fine Arts has been established at the University of Virginia by the liberal endowment of Paul Goodloe McIntire.

In 1816, Dr. Timothy Dwight, of Yale College, ventured to assert,—amid growls of sour dissent, no doubt,—that there was not a single university in the United States at that time. There were seven, he intimated, that pretended to that broad and liberal framework, but tested by the standard of the great seats of learning in Europe, only one in his judgment, Harvard College, approximated it. Eight years after this bold and sweeping pronouncement, the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, which was not yet in operation, adopted the following rule: "Every student shall be free to attend the schools of his choice, and no other than he chooses." This principle did not spring up now for the first time even in the United States, for, many years before, it had been put in limited practice at the College of William and Mary.¹ Now, however, it was flung down as a tacit challenge to Dr. Dwight amid far more imposing surroundings, and with far brighter prospects of success, than had ever greeted it before in America. It was to become, indeed, the corner-stone of the institution; and through it that institution was to claim identity in spirit at least with the universities of the Old World, which had enjoyed renown for ages. "I am not fully informed of the practices of Harvard," wrote Jefferson to Ticknor, in 1823, "but there is one principle we shall certainly vary, although it has been copied, I believe, by nearly every college and academy in the United States, that is, the holding of the students all to one prescribed course of reading, and disallowing exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them for the particu-

¹ "Many years before the establishment of the University of Virginia," says Prof. William B. Rogers, in his report to the General Assembly in 1845, "an election of studies was allowed at the College of William and Mary." Rogers had been an instructor in that college at one time and could, therefore, write authoritatively on this subject.

lar vocation to which they are destined. We shall, on the contrary, allow them uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend, and require elementary qualifications only and sufficient age."

Jefferson had a clear perception of the difference between the college and the university. It was not a part of his original plan that his own institution was to undertake the work of a college even to a moderate extent. The work which he designed it to do was graduate work, and the only academic diploma — independent of the doctriate granted for advanced graduation — which it was authorized to award was the graduate's diploma. The adoption of the degrees of master of arts and bachelor of arts was not in harmony with the principle upon which his university was built, in its theory at least, and was a distinctly regrettable, though perhaps, for practical reasons, an unavoidable departure from its fundamental character. It was special culture and not general culture, which he had primarily in view, although the system permitted also of general culture in the highest measure, should the student succeed in passing through all the classical and scientific schools. But it was not to the aspirations of this set among the young men that he directed his most earnest gaze; it was rather to the ambitions of those who had come up to acquire knowledge along some special line, scientific or classical, that appealed to their individual tastes. It is true that, under the existing regulations, each student was required, except in cases of parental dispensation, to pursue at least three courses of study; but these three he was at liberty to choose; and it was always in his power, if he wished to perfect himself in one school, to find two other schools that would be more or less closely related to it.

It was not because of any defect in Jefferson's scheme

that the University of Virginia was, in the beginning, more of a college than a university. The ideal college stands midway between the school and the university; the college looks backward,— the university looks forward; the one treats of the conservation of truth,— the other of its discovery or of vocational training. The University of Virginia, at the start, when, in theory, it was so purely a university, was more taken up with instruction than with research; with undergraduate studies than with graduate. This was due primarily to the incomplete system of secondary education prevailing in Virginia at that time, upon which, it will be recalled, Jefferson had, with palpable exaggeration, animadverted with sarcastic bitterness,— a shortcoming which so far as it existed, his own institution was, in time, as we shall see, so largely to correct. If the full fruit of such a system of instruction as he framed for his own seat of learning is to be garnered, then the community which it is to benefit should contain, not simply public or private secondary schools, however meritorious, but numerous colleges of a high order to pour a constant stream of students into the reservoir of the University at the top. Jefferson sought to create these institutions by urging the General Assembly to adopt a scheme of district colleges, which would have enabled the student to complete his undergraduate studies before beginning his graduate studies at Charlottesville.

The need of these advanced colleges, as distinguished from the large number of superior private schools that existed, was perceived more and more clearly by the Faculty as time passed. "Without an ample provision for intermediate colleges and academies, and a judicious distribution through the State," wrote Professor Lomax to Cabell, in January, 1827, "the University can never

display the utility of which it is capable, and be secure of having its proper support." Professor Duglison had arrived at the same conviction: "It will be an important event for the institution when efficient academies are established to do away with the necessity of the professors of ancient and modern languages and mathematics fulfilling those duties which ought previously to have been performed in the schools." Jefferson himself could not repress his impatience in contemplating this fact: "We were obliged to receive last year," he wrote to W. B. Giles in December, 1825, "shameful Latinists in the classical school of the University, such as we will certainly refuse as soon as we can get from better schools a sufficient number of the properly instructed to form a class. We must get rid of the Connecticut tutor."¹

At this time, there were not in Virginia sufficiently numerous facilities for preliminary instruction of a high order, to equip every student to the degree required by the standards of the University; and the depressing influence of this fact on some of the junior classes of that institution, during the early years of its existence, was so much exaggerated by report, that colleges like Washington and Hampden-Sidney apparently looked on it at first, not as a superior, but as a common rival, engaged like themselves chiefly in undergraduate work. And this was also the prevailing attitude of the College of William and Mary, although that institution had a better right, both from an historical and a scholastic point of view, to assume it.

xv. *Plans for Filling the Chairs*

Jefferson was not one of that bigoted stamp, perhaps as numerous in his times as in our own, who honestly be-

¹ In the history of the Fifth Period, we shall show how seriously

lieve that America is so faultless that it cannot be improved upon,— at least, not so from without. No one could surpass him in unselfish devotion to his own country; and yet no one was more candid in acknowledging its deficiencies, and more anxious to correct them, even if the only way was to introduce foreign substances, talents, and devices. Whether it was an Italian species of rice, or an English variety of vegetable or thorn for hedges; whether it was a Scotch threshing machine, or a French barometer; whether it was an English strain of rams, bulls, or boars, or the ward system of New England; whether it was a novel chemical discovery in a Parisian laboratory, or a serpentine wall noted in a casual stroll through an English garden; whether it was the entire faculty of a Swiss university, or the philologists, mathematicians, and scientists of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh,— his inquisitive eyes looked abroad unerringly for the best in the practical or intellectual life of every foreign land in order to employ it for the betterment of his own. He was resolved to make the genius of every race contribute to the beauty, the commodiousness, and the enlightenment of the sphere in which his own people moved. In politics and ethics alone did he seem to feel that there was no need of foreign illumination and fortification.

Jefferson was a provincial in his intensely partisan interest in the welfare of his own country, but he was a cosmopolite in his discernment in recognizing what was most useful in alien lands, and in his solicitude to reproduce it on this side of the water. The spirit of his mission to France, apart from its purely diplomatic aspects, was summarized in the ever present thought: what advantages

Jefferson overstated the lack of facilities for a good secondary education in Virginia at the time the University began its career.

to America in a scientific or scholarly way can I gather up here for the promotion of its wealth, its comfort, its moral and intellectual condition? There was no limit to the personal inconvenience which he was ready to defy to obtain information which he knew would be beneficial to the existing and the future generations.

Such was his mental attitude in considering the vital task of selecting the professors of the new university, when, after the completion of the buildings, and the adoption of the system of instruction, it became imperative to choose the entire number. He was fully determined to appoint only the most erudite, not only because his standard was as high in the respect of scholastic training as it was in all others, but because he was shrewdly aware that it was only the most shining acquirements that could give prestige to a seat of learning which was still in its infancy. The distinction of the teachers alone could overcome the absence of that glamour which tradition and a long history of achievement are so fecund in imparting. Without this distinction, the University could not only assert no superiority over its fellow institutions of older origin, — it could not even claim an equality with them. The first question, which, he said, should be asked of a candidate was: Is he highly qualified? Nor was he to be accepted as so qualified simply because he knew thoroughly his own topic. On the contrary, Jefferson insisted that "he should be educated as to the sciences generally; able to converse understandingly with the scientific men with whom he is associated; or to assist in the councils of the Faculty on any subject of science on which they may have occasion to deliberate. Without this, he will incur their contempt, and bring disrespect on the institution."

It is to be inferred from this expression of opinion, that

Jefferson was inclined to estimate breadth of acquirements more highly than mere specialism, however profound. Such amplitude of accomplishments were more common in his day than it is in our own, and the success of his original selection of professors was, in no one particular, more conspicuously illustrated than in the facility with which the majority of them could pass from the chair of languages to the chair of mathematics and from the chair of mathematics to the chair of natural philosophy. It was his conviction that something besides lucrative salaries and comfortable accommodations was needed to ensure the acquisition of a faculty of the highest reputation for talents and learning. He thought, with a just refinement of view, that scholars of extraordinary merit are influenced to accept a chair as much by the distinction of the university to which that chair belongs as by the actual emoluments that went with it. What was the only means by which this distinction could be created before professors of celebrity had been chosen? By the nobility of its architectural setting. No doubt, as we have pointed out, Jefferson found an acute satisfaction in stately edifices apart from their practical utility, but there is also reason to suppose that, in adopting the classical style in his own seat of learning, he also had before his mind's eye the reputation for imposing beauty which that style would give. Such a reputation was an important asset in itself. "Had we built a barn for a college and log-huts for accommodations," he said somewhat scornfully, "should we ever had the assurance to propose to a European professor of the first order?"

He knew from his own personal observation while abroad that, among the most splendid structures in Europe, were those that housed the ancient colleges and universities; and he could easily comprehend the feeling of

repulsion which the first view of the rude barracks even of great institutions like Princeton, Yale, and Harvard, would arouse in the breast of a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, or Trinity College, Cambridge. It was partly in order to create the deepest impression for beauty that he insisted that the University should remain shut up until the entire round of buildings had been completed, when alone the effect of the whole in its perfection could be fully taken in and discriminatingly relished. This seemed to him to be the more imperative because Charlottesville, at this time, was a small village, with no architectural charm and no social advantages; and while the surrounding country contained a large number of refined and well educated families, and many attractive homes, yet all of them were too dispersed to make the pleasing impression on cultivated and travelled strangers which they would have done, had they been closely and conveniently grouped.

Had Jefferson been able to go from one American seat of learning to another and pick out the very men whom he preferred, it is quite possible that he would not have directed his gaze so soon towards the universities of Europe. During the existence of Central College, as will be recalled, he turned first to Dr. Cooper, who, although of English birth, had resided long enough in Pennsylvania for his original democratical opinions to be confirmed. Dr. Knox was a citizen of the United States. Jefferson clearly perceived the practical advantage of employing instructors who were already in sympathy with American political principles and social customs, and who, he knew, would be satisfied with the still raw American environment because they were born to it. As early as March, 1819, the Board of Visitors, under the spur of his prompting, instructed the committee of superintendence to over-

look no opportunity of engaging for the University "American citizens of the first order of science in their respective lines"; and during the following year, both Mr. Bowditch and Mr. Ticknor, of Massachusetts, were approached with offers of definite professorships. Nathaniel Bowditch, who was famous as a self-taught mathematician and navigator, and as the translator of Laplace's *Mechanique Celeste*, had already declined to enter the faculty of either Harvard or West Point. Ticknor was, perhaps, the most accomplished man in the United States at that time; had travelled far and wide in the Old World; and was to win a great reputation as a teacher and as a writer. Each refused such liberal inducements to accept as a pavilion, an annual salary of two thousand dollars, and a fee of ten dollars for each student belonging to his class, with a total emolument of twenty-five hundred dollars specifically guaranteed.

The failure to secure these distinguished men seems to have discouraged Jefferson in his pursuit of American professors. "It was not probable," he concluded, "that they would leave the situation in which they were, even if it were honorable to seduce them from their stations." "It was easy enough," he added, "to fill the chairs with the employed secondary characters. But this would not have fulfilled the object or satisfied the expectation of our country in the institution." The impossibility of obtaining in the United States the teachers of the scholarship by him considered to be indispensable, fully justified him in deciding to look henceforward across the ocean for their counterparts. And he may have done this with the less hesitation because he was aware that a foreign professor was, at that time, certain to be invested with the greater prestige because he would be able to show a diploma from some one of the famous European universi-

ties; or what was a still higher distinction, had even occupied a chair in one of them.

Naturally, Jefferson concentrated his earliest attention upon the country which spoke the same language and possessed the same points of view as Americans, and were of the same racial descent, political principles, and social instincts. He was too sensible to presume that an infant university seated in the far-off New World, as yet without reputation because still a pile of fresh bricks, and with no large endowment fund, would be able, by the few inducements that it could hold out, to draw to itself historical scholars like Robertson, or classical scholars like Porson and Parr, or scientists like Playfair. They, he said, "occupied positions which could not be bettered anywhere." It was upon the accomplished members of a younger generation that he cast his eyes,—the men who were already treading impatiently upon the heels of the veterans; and who, within a few years, would be usurping their shoes, and, as their successors, showing even higher qualifications than the veterans themselves had exhibited. The rivalry among these younger English scholars of equal claims to recognition, he knew, was sharp and unceasing; and he was sanguine that there would be found among them some, who, as he said, would prefer a comfortable certainty in Virginia to a precarious stipend in England. So universal and so relentless, indeed, was this competition in the struggle there for a moderate income, that he had been told, he added, that "it was deemed allowable in ethics for even the most honorable minds to give exaggerated recommendations and certificates to enable a friend or protégé to get into a livelihood."

Jefferson was well-informed as to the English universities which must be sounded by him in his search for the

competent professors who were needed: to Oxford, he must go for the classical scholar; to Cambridge for the mathematical; to Edinburgh, for the anatomical expert; and perhaps to that city also for the teacher of natural philosophy and natural history. The professor of modern languages should be procured from one of the continental seats of learning.

The first foreign instructor to send in his testimonials to the Board of Visitors was George Blaettermann, a German by birth and education, who had been recommended by George Ticknor and General Preston. This was in 1821. Again, in 1823, he applied by letter to Jefferson for the appointment, for which he had, in the interval, prepared himself by collecting, during a tour of France, Germany, and Holland, materials for a series of lectures to be delivered at the University. Richard Rush, the American minister to London, had been asked to inquire as to his character and qualifications. It is possible that, at one time, Jefferson was sanguine that all the professors could be selected through the intermediary offices of Rush; but this expectation, if ever nursed, was soon abandoned as impracticable.

It was natural and judicious that he, in casting about for an agent, should first think of Joseph C. Cabell, a man upon whose good sense he had always, as we have seen, relied implicitly, and who, by a previous visit to Europe, and by personal acquaintance with many distinguished persons there, seemed to be exceptionally fitted to carry out successfully the mission which was now to be performed. Cabell asked for time to consider the request. "I cannot conceal," he wrote, "the gratification I feel at the confidence the proposition discovers." At the moment, he was debating in the closet of his own mind whether he should not resign his seat in the Senate, and withdraw

into private citizenship again; his affairs had begun to suffer alarmingly from the neglect that had followed his long absences from home; and he had also pleasing visions of devoting the leisure hours of his future plantation life to science and literature. The suggested visit to Europe would not be inconsistent with these agricultural and scholarly plans, for it would not absorb a longer period than six months at the most. Cabell, in the end, however, determined, with Jefferson's hearty approval, to remain in public office; and this decision, fortified, doubtless, by his constant anxiety about his health, caused him to decline the invitation to undertake the foreign mission.¹

At the meeting of the Board of Visitors held on April 5 (1824), Francis Walker Gilmer was chosen in his stead. As Jefferson had known Gilmer intimately from boyhood, the selection was quite certainly the direct result of his advice. From every point of view, it was both a judicious and an interesting one. Gilmer belonged to the same caste in Virginia as Cabell, and had passed his early life in the midst of precisely similar social influences; indeed, the home of Dr. George Gilmer, the father of Francis Walker, was the exact counterpart in domestic refinement, elevated tastes, and simple occupations, of the home of Colonel Nicholas Cabell, the father of Joseph. The mould in which the characters of both young men had been shaped was the typical country-house of the Old Dominion, with its English traditions of manliness, uprightness, and culture of head and heart. Both were animated by the same lofty ideal of intellectual accomplishments and public services. Distinction in literature,

¹ Cabell, writing to Jefferson, October 27, 1823, said that he had recently bought one of his brother's plantations. This led him to consider abandoning public life. "I have thought it advisable to inform you of the purchase, and its probable consequences, that you might not be unprepared with a fit person to execute your views in Europe."

science or politics was the beckoning star of their aspirations; they had, from their earliest youth, nursed a generous ambition to win personal renown by such achievements in at least one of these walks as would be distinctly promotive of the happiness and prosperity of their fellow-men.

Cabell and Gilmer resembled each other even in their flaws of temperament: the one exhibited on the threshold of his active life, the other, throughout the whole of his shortened existence, a definite infirmity of will, which, by shifting their energies from one channel to another, created an impression of instability and inconstancy of character. Cabell, acquiring, by inheritance and marriage, a large fortune, was able in time to concentrate his powers in a brilliant political career, which he followed uninterruptedly until the verge of old age. Gilmer, as we shall see, wavered, not so much in his general spirit, as in his particular aims, and died while still young, leaving behind a memory that was held in all the more tenderness by his numerous friends because it was invested with the pathos of arrested achievement and unfulfilled promise. Both Cabell and Gilmer were sufferers from weakness of the lungs; and Gilmer succumbed to it before his powers had fully ripened. The capriciousness and fickleness which marked his conduct at times were probably due, in no small measure, to the haunting thought of this terrible disease, which naturally tended to confuse his plans for life and debilitate his will in their pursuit. The impression left by the study of his career is one of brilliance that bordered on futility, and of ambition of the noblest order that lacked the necessary fixity of purpose to blossom into full efflorescence.

XVI. *Francis Walker Gilmer*

Gilmer was born at Pen Park, near the steep banks of the Rivanna, and in the long morning shadow of the Southwest Mountains. It was a cultivated and refined neighborhood, as we have shown, in which his childhood and youth were spent. His father, who was of direct Scotch ancestry, and had received his medical education at Edinburgh, was noted, in the community, for his literary culture, his taste for science,—more particularly for botany and chemistry,—and for an uncommon knowledge of the fine arts. William Wirt, who married his daughter, Mildred, described him as being an accomplished gentleman, gay in temper, witty in utterance, and on occasion, capable of eloquence of great force and dignity. He enjoyed Jefferson's friendship,—largely, perhaps, because they were both so deeply interested in every branch of scientific inquiry. Wirt imagined that he detected in Francis as early as his fourth year the general cast of his father's remarkable character. His early education seems to have been discursive and desultory, but it was sufficiently concentrated for him to acquire a great fund of classical learning. His first lessons of importance were received in the family of Thomas Mann Randolph; and here, under the tutelage of Mrs. Randolph, who had been educated in Paris, he obtained a very respectable knowledge of the French language. Afterwards entering Georgetown College near Washington, he passed thence to the College of William and Mary, where he seems to have impressed Bishop Madison as favorably as Cabell had done, for his genial manners, his refined tastes, and his ripe scholarship.

While a student there, he was thrown into the society of his distinguished brother-in-law, William Wirt, for the

first time since his childhood, although the two had very often, during the interval, exchanged letters. Wirt soon formed an enthusiastic opinion of his capabilities and his attainments. "In learning, he is a prodigy," said he. "His learning is of a curious cast, for having no one to direct his studies, he seems to have devoured indiscriminately everything that came in his way. He had been removed from school to school in different parts of the country,—had met at all those places with different collections of old books, of which he was always fond, and seemed also to have had command of his father's medical library, which he had read in the original Latin. It was curious to hear a boy of seventeen years of age speaking with fluency, and even with manly eloquence, and quoting such names as Bochaave, Van Helmont, Van Sweiten, together with Descartes, Gassendi, Newton, and Locke, and discanting on the system of Linnaeus with the familiarity of a veteran professor."

Bishop Madison quite naturally was solicitous to associate such an unfledged prodigy of learning as this with the College of William and Mary; and perhaps it was only Gilmer's youth which stood in the way of the offer of a more conspicuous station in the institution than the ushership of the grammar school. But he seems to have been already looking forward to a more active career than teaching. We learn from a letter addressed to his brother in October, 1810, that he was, at this time, planning a sojourn of several years in Albemarle county, where he expected to devote his time to a special course of reading, for which he would find the necessary volumes in the libraries of his friends. Now begins the somewhat sauntering habit of life which he was to keep up more or less to the end, and which seems to reveal a certain waywardness of spirit in the pursuit of his purposes. He

speaks of his "natural indolence," and fear that it will interrupt the proposed course of reading, although undertaken with no higher object than mere pleasure. In the spring of 1811, he plunges into a debate with himself whether or not he should seriously begin the study of law, but before doing so, he decided, with a characteristic disposition to diverge from his main path, to read Xenophon as giving a part of that moral science which, from its affinity to jurisprudence, should, in the order of things, he said, precede its study.

His friends, among whom were many men of distinction, fortified him with words of encouragement: "I consider you," wrote W. M. Burwell, a representative in Congress from Virginia, "destined to be eminently useful." "You set out," said William Wirt, "with a stock of science and information not surpassed, I suspect, in the example of Mr. Jefferson, and not equalled by any other, I do not except Tazewell." And he tells his young brother-in-law that he will not be satisfied with mediocrity in his career. "Whatever line of life you propose to pursue," wrote Jefferson, "you will enter on it with the high profits which worth, talent, and science present. There would be nothing which you might not promise yourself were the state of education with us what we could wish."¹

Gilmer, in 1811, accepted an invitation from Wirt to study law in his office in Richmond, the customary method, at that time, of qualifying for the profession. Wirt was not only the most brilliant member of the local bar, but

¹ In January, 1817, Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, of Washington, met Gilmer at "a drawing-room" in the White House. "The one who most interested me," she says in her *Forty Years of Washington Society*, "was Mr. Gilmer, a young Virginian. . . . He was called the future hope of Virginia, its ornament, its bright star. I had a long, animated, and interesting conversation with him, really the greatest intellectual feast I long have had." P. 137.

had also won distinction by his success as an author; indeed, the *British Spy* had already given him a national reputation, independently of his forensic triumphs. Personally, he was the most delightful of companions; and this geniality, with his influential connections by marriage and by friendship, made him perhaps the most notable figure in the highest social group of the city. The charming benefits which Gilmer reaped from his familiar association with this accomplished man was only one part of his social harvest: he became intimate with the families of the Wickhams, Hays, McClurges, Brockenbroughs, Cabells, and Gambles, and others of equal standing; formed a close friendship with Tazewell and Upshur; shouldered a musket in the defence of the city against British invasion; and barely got off with his life from the burning of the Richmond theatre, which snuffed out so many useful and distinguished lives.

In the spring of 1814, Gilmer determined to open a law office in Winchester; but during the many months which he passed at leisure before acting on this decision, he seems to have employed his time in the several kinds of literary composition to which he was impelled by the didactic spirit of that day. It was during this interval that he was first thrown with Abbe Corrèa; and as they had many tastes in common, their friendship quickly ripened. Corrèa was a Portuguese, who, for some years, had acted as secretary of the Lisbon Academy, but sympathizing with the French Revolution, had been forced to fly his native country and to take refuge in London. There he won such unreserved consideration that he was appointed the British representative in Paris, and remained there from 1802 to 1813. He was held in high repute by scientists for his knowledge of botany; and he seems to have visited the United States for the first time

to deliver lectures on this topic. At a subsequent period, he served as the Portuguese minister at Washington; and having become an intimate of Jefferson, he was frequently a visitor at Monticello.

Gilmer was irresistibly attracted to him, not only by his universal learning, but also by his knowledge of plants, a subject which had always interested the young Virginian. "Corrèa," said he, with generous enthusiasm, "knows all the languages, all the sciences. He is the most extraordinary man who ever lived." The two very often exchanged roots and seeds, and on at least two occasions, they made long and delightful excursions together in search of rare species of flowers. "The Abbe wishes you were always with him," Henry St. George Tucker wrote from Winchester; and we find Corrèa constantly sending him letters that breathe both affection and admiration. "Go on ascending the ladder," he tells him in February, 1816, "but remember that a genius like yours must not make it the only business of his life, but employ the ascendancy he got by that means to better the mental situation of his nation." Through Corrèa, Gilmer forwarded an essay to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to be read at its ensuing meeting; and he also became a correspondent of Du Pont de Nemours, to whom he discoursed on the topic of roads built at the national expense, or of a paper currency that rested on no basis more solid than the public confidence.

He was established in Winchester by 1814. His mind, however, was still so little set upon the profession of law, to the exclusion of all other interests, that Corrèa was able to seduce him into a botanical excursion to the Carolinas. He was also secretly engaged in literary composition. In 1816, a thin volume entitled *Sketches of the Orators* written by him, but without acknowledg-

ment of its paternity on the title page, was published in Baltimore, and the authorship soon leaking out, it led to an interesting correspondence with several persons of literary distinction. George Ticknor had already made his acquaintance,—no doubt at Monticello,—and perceiving his genial disposition and extraordinary literary and scientific culture, had been drawn to him with affectionate sympathy. In 1815, Gilmer planned a short tour in Europe. "Shall you set yourself down," wrote Ticknor, "amidst the literary society of Paris, and pass there in solitary study, or intellectual intercourse, the greater part of the time you can allow yourself to be abroad . . . or shall you visit with a classical eye and a classical imagination, the curious remains of art and antiquity in Italy?" It 1817, Ticknor stopped over in Geneva purposely to purchase for him a set of French and Latin volumes in tally with a list which had been sent to Dabney Carr Terrell, a young Virginian, then a student in the university of that city; and during his stay at Göttingen, he was warmly interested in buying for him additional works relating to jurisprudence and political economy. Ticknor's generous friendship for Gilmer never grew cold. In a letter written the same year, he revealed his affectionate solicitude for him by begging him to take care of his health. "The world," he said, "expects a great deal from your talents. I have placed a portion of my happiness on the continuance of your life."

Another correspondent was the versatile Hugh L. Legaré, who, like himself, had an almost inordinate esteem for literary culture and classical learning.

During his residence in Winchester, where he was able to earn his expenses by his profession, Gilmer was daily brought in the most familiar association with Henry St.

George Tucker, Judge Carr, and Judge Holmes, three men of remarkable attainments themselves, who felt for him an almost fraternal affection. But in spite of the genial attractions of their society, and the goodwill and respect of the community at large, he began to grow restive by the end of the second year. Where should he next settle, was the question that then arose to perplex his mind. He consulted his friends. Judge Cabell urged him to come back to Richmond. "Wirt," he wrote, "has removed to Washington, and his business to start with will fall to you." "Hard study, hard labor, and patient waiting," he added, "are necessary to success. I have no doubt of your success if you will be but true to yourself." Gilmer's progressive weakness of the lungs was one of the causes of his increasing restlessness. "You can easily fulfil expectations," Cabell continued, "if you will preserve your health by adapting your habits to the nature of your accommodations."

He thought at first of establishing himself in Baltimore. Robert Walsh, a prominent resident of that city, whose advice he sought, threw cold water on this plan. "The competition is crowded here," he said, "though not powerful. Much depends on accident and family influence. As for political advancement, the chances are more favorable in Winchester." On the other hand, Wirt, to whom he also turned, counseled him to decide in favor of Baltimore. That wise friend urged him to give up entirely the diversion of writing books until he had accumulated a fortune by his practice; ten years at least should pass before he should permit himself to gratify his literary ambitions. "Be content," adds Wirt, "with the beautiful and captivating specimen of your taste in composition which you have already given." Gilmer, unfortunately, perhaps, for his success as a law-

yer, was in possession of a small income from invested funds and the hire of negroes,—a fact, which, by removing the spur to constant exertion in his profession, allowed him to become more enamored of the literary pursuits in which his heart was really embarked.

The length of residence required by the Baltimore rules before he would be granted a license, finally decided him to enroll his name in the membership of the Richmond bar. He had not been long settled in that city when he was mentioned for the presidency of the College of William and Mary, and under the influence of his leanings as a scholar, he would very probably have accepted it had it been offered, if Jefferson had not somewhat indignantly protested against his suffering himself to be drawn into what he described as a *cul de sac*. "You must get into the Legislature," he added, "for never did it more need of all its talents, nor more so than at this next session." The success which Gilmer won at the Richmond bar at this time proves that, had he been able to concentrate his thoughts and energies on the profession of law, he would have fulfilled all the sanguine expectations of his friends. Wirt, whose amiable temper, perhaps, led him to form an exaggerated estimate of other people's abilities, had not yet ceased to regret that his young brother-in-law had decided against a residence in Baltimore. "Had you gone thither," he said, "a few years might have placed your name next to Pinckney's." Now, Pinckney was, at this time, the most celebrated advocate in the American courts, and to predict that the young Virginian would, by proper exertion, rise to a position only second to his was to attribute to him the possession of the most extraordinary capacity. Whether his powers were really so great or not, Wirt followed his legal career with affectionate interest; and

receiving a very favorable report of one of his earliest arguments, after the removal to Richmond, expressed his gratification at the reputation which Gilmer was rapidly winning. "I hear you have broken a lance with the Attorney-General. Did you unhorse him? They tell me there was no pomp, no ostentation, no bombast, no pedantry about you, no verbiage for verbiage's sake, but that your words were full of thought, your manner, manly and moderate, yet energetic and cogent."

During one year, Gilmer served as the official reporter of the Court of Appeals, and his name was even suggested for the Attorney-Generalship of the State; but in spite of his apparent attention to the obligations of his jealous profession at this time, he seems to have still had little proclivity for it. His most earnest meditations were, as formerly, constantly directed towards literature and science. "I had not the least suspicion of your talent for poetry," wrote Corrèa, who had just received a copy of verses from his pen. Later, he is found rebutting Jeremy Bentham, and the self-complacent Edinburgh reviewers, in a treatise on usury, which was greeted with warm encomiums by both Jefferson and Wirt. A more imaginative production was an essay, in which he represented himself as lost at night in Westminster Abbey, and listening unseen to a conference between the marble figures, which had turned to flesh and blood and resumed their powers of motion and speech. In a second essay of a scientific cast, he offered an ingenious explanation of the phenomenon of the lunar rainbow.

He never lost his keen taste for the study of botany. Corrèa, in December, 1818, urged him to join him in an excursion to the Dismal Swamp in search of wild plants and flowers; and also, the following summer, to accompany him to the neighborhood of Charleston, for the

same purpose. These invitations apparently were not accepted simply because Wirt protested. "Your future success," he said, "must depend on disproving the whimsicality and instability which the mind is apt enough, without any overt act, to attach to genius." Gilmer seems to have nursed a vague plan of establishing some sort of botanical school in the Alleghanies. "What in the deuce," wrote Corrèa, "put you in the mood of a rural establishment in the mountains, with herb hunting, and lectures, and do nothing?" A letter from Thomas M. Randolph, written to him in 1818, mentions their former wanderings in the vicinity of Richmond in search of flowers; and a jocular note of Littleton W. Tazewell, some years later, quizzes him about a box full of rare blossoms which he had just received from Charleston, with directions to send it on to his address.

It was, during this year, that he became a candidate for the Secretaryship of Florida; but his motive apparently was not to secure a semi-tropical field for the gratification of his botanical curiosity, but to settle himself in a region that would prove more favorable to his precarious health. Wirt, to whom he applied for a backing, was discouraging in his reply. He again, with renewed impatience, enjoined upon him "to bid adieu to the sciences and literature for a season, and let the world see that your soul is in your profession. Avoid the reputation of fickleness. Your next move must be your last." Unfortunately, perhaps, for himself, Gilmer failed to obtain the appointment, and the next few years were passed in Richmond, broken only by the performance of his mission to England, which will be subsequently described. His pursuits continued to be of a desultory cast. We find him in correspondence with Philip Norborne Nicholas, who retailed, for his amusement,

the social gossip of Washington and the floating public news of the hour; with William Pope, of Powhatan county, the local humorist, who wrote that John Randolph had recently spoken of him as the "best informed man of his age in Virginia"; with Abel P. Upshur, Secretary of State in Tyler's Administration; with Benjamin Watkins Leigh, who consulted him confidentially about the agitation of his name as a candidate for the Senate; and with Captain Thomas Miller, a cultivated Englishman, who asserted that he had received more "information and pleasure" from Gilmer's conversation than "from all the people he had seen in all his travels."

These kind words, coming from men of such public distinction or private worth, must have been deeply soothing to Gilmer's disquieted spirit, now that his fatal disease was making such rapid and destructive progress. So extreme was his debility, that, towards the close of 1825, he made up his mind to return to his native county of Albemarle, in reality to die. Thomas W. Leigh, a man like himself of extraordinary promise, and like himself destined to pass away before his prime, wrote to him, after his departure, that "absence and separation would never weaken the sentiment of gratitude, and affection, and admiration with which I shall continue your friend"; and Dr. John Brockenbrough regretted that "one of the greatest pleasures we had is gone," now that he is no longer a citizen of Richmond. "No more friendly chit-chat soirées, and no substitute for them," he adds in words that show his sincerity.

Before Gilmer went back to the familiar scenes of his youth and early manhood, he sought the benefit of a change in a visit to Norfolk. Chapman Johnson encouraged him, after his return, by saying that, as a result of the trip, he was "less hoarse and coughed less." "I

am perfectly persuaded," he added, probably with feigned hopefulness, "you want nothing but a tranquil mind, and mild climate to restore you." Gilmer had spoken of visiting Philadelphia to consult Dr. Physic. Johnson urged him instead to seek the affectionate nursing of his friends in Albemarle. "Make up your mind," he said, "to get well or to go to Heaven without another murmur or complaining word, and you will find the prescription worth a thousand times more than all the doctors can do or say for you." Gilmer wisely followed this advice, for his case was beyond the skill of the most competent physician; only a few months later, the religious state of his mind was revealed in his gift of plate for the altar of the Episcopal church in Charlottesville. On February 15 (1826), General Cocke reported his condition as so low, in the opinion of Dr. Dunglison, that he could not survive a fortnight. His last thoughts seemed to have travelled to the kindest and most affectionate of all his friends, the genial, the generous, the true-hearted William Wirt. "Farewell to you," the dying man wrote, with his brother Peachy's assistance, "and to all a family I have esteemed so well. I have scarcely any hope of recovering, and was but a day or two ago leaving you my last souvenir. I have not written to you because I love and admire you, and am too low to use my own hand with convenience." Wirt's reply was full of an agonized tenderness. "I have learned," he wrote, "that your disease has taken a turn alarming to your friends. But this note surpasses all my fears. . . . You have the love and present prayers of every member of my family. God Almighty bless you. If we have to part, I trust it will not be long ere we shall meet again to part no more."

The last scenes in Gilmer's life remind us in many

ways of the closing hours in the life of Keats. Both died young, both unmarried, and both of the same disease; and although the verses of the poet assured him, as he knew, an immortal chaplet of fame, there was, in his fading consciousness, that pang of thwarted hopes and unfulfilled desires which also wracked the heart of the young Virginian, sinking under the same deadly malady. As Keats's haunting sense of his own futility was summed up in the mournful epitaph which he wrote for himself, "Here lies one whose name was writ in water," so the pathetic words engraved upon the tomb of the accomplished, aspiring, and high-minded Francis Walker Gilmer express all the sadness of a spirit, which only found surcease from the disappointments of hope and ambition when the frail body which had imprisoned it had been consigned to its native sod:

"Pray, Stranger, allow one who never had peace while he lived,
 The sad Immunities of the Grave,
 Silence and Repose."

XVII. *The Mission to England*

Such in general was the spirit and the quality of the man who was selected to visit England in order to make the necessary choice of foreign professors. Jefferson offered him the mission by letter on November 23, 1823; but it was not until April 5, 1824, that he received a specific direction from the Board to leave for Europe to engage "characters of due degree of science, and of talents for instruction, and of correct habits and morals." The persons to be sought for and contracted with were to be the professors who were to occupy the chairs of mathematics, the ancient languages, anatomy and physiology,—which should take in the history of the main theories of

medicine also,—physics, with astronomy added, and natural history, embracing botany, zoology, mineralogy, chemistry, and geology.

Gilmer was impowered to offer to each a fixed salary of a thousand dollars as the minimum, and fifteen hundred as the maximum, and also the tuition fees belonging to the chair to be filled. A guarantee was to be given that, during the first five years, the remuneration of the incumbent was not to be allowed to fall below twenty-five hundred dollars. Two thousand dollars was to be deposited in an English bank to enable Gilmer to make an advance of money to such of the professors as should need it before shutting up their homes in England; he himself was to receive fifteen hundred dollars to cover the expenses of his journey, and also to pay for his services in carrying out the mission; while a sum of six thousand dollars was to be appropriated for the purchase of apparatus for the use of the mathematical, chemical, physical, and astronomical classes. As the University was expected to be in a condition to receive students by February 1, 1825, it was hoped that he would be able to engage all the professors by the middle of November, 1824. His power of attorney was dated April 26, 1824. A letter of introduction from Jefferson to Richard Rush, the American minister in London, which accompanied this document, recommended him to Rush's good offices as the "best educated subject we have raised since the Revolution, highly qualified in all the important branches of sciences, particularly that of law. . . . His morals, his amiable temper, and his discretion, will do justice to any confidence you may place in him." Madison, in a supplementary letter, was equally complimentary. "He will quickly recommend himself," he said, "by his enlightened and accomplished mind, his pleasing disposi-

tion and manners." "It is a sufficient testimonial of his merits," he added, "that he was selected for this mission"; and Rush was asked to bring him into communication with persons in England of the type of Sir James Mackintosh, who would be able to point out the scholars to be approached.

With numerous copies of the Rockfish Gap Report in his baggage, as Jefferson's gifts to his English correspondents, like Dugald Stewart and Major John Cartwright, and fortified with bills of exchange on Gowan and Marx of London, Gilmer set sail from New York on May 8, in the packet *Cortez*, which steered straight for Liverpool; but, buffeted by fierce headwinds in St. George's Channel, turned into the harbor of Holyhead, in Wales, from which town he travelled overland to the original port of destination, where he arrived twenty-nine days after dropping out of sight of Sandy Hook. Stopping at Hatton, after his departure from Liverpool, to talk with Dr. Parr, he was told that he was absent from home. During the first eight days of his sojourn in London, he was, against his will, left in a state of restive idleness by the crush of Mr. Rush's engagements; but at the end of that interval, was able to obtain from Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Brougham the letters which he needed for Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh. He held personal interviews with these two distinguished Englishmen, both of whom he discovered to be very much interested in the objects of his mission; but Sir James Mackintosh was either too indolent, or too much absorbed in his political duties, to give any assistance. Lord Teignmouth's four letters were addressed to the highest dignitaries at Oxford and Cambridge,—among them, Dr. Edward Coplestone, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff,—while Brougham's three were to persons de-

scribed by him as "the fittest" at Cambridge and Edinburgh, one of whom was Dr. Martin Davy, master of Caius College, and a friend of Dr. Parr's. Brougham offered to introduce Gilmer to Davy in London; and was so solicitous for his success as to put him on "his guard against the various deceptions or rather exaggerations" which would be practiced upon him, should he let the purpose of his mission "be known to any but a very few."

Before leaving London, Gilmer signed a contract with Dr. Blaettermann, who, not expecting the appointment, had recently rented and furnished a large house.¹ It is to be noted that he was not guaranteed the salary of twenty-five hundred dollars which Gilmer had been authorized to offer; and it was even intimated to him that the fifteen hundred dollars which he was to receive at the outset, might, during the second year, be reduced to one thousand. No real ground of objection to Blaettermann seems to have been discovered; but as the terms extended to him were less liberal than those granted to the other professors, we can only infer that Gilmer's impression of the man was not of the most favorable nature in the beginning. He spoke with a distinct foreign accent, which may have aroused a feeling of prejudice against him. His salary was to begin to accrue from the day of his sailing; he was to receive, in addition, fifty dollars from every pupil who studied his courses only; thirty, if the pupil attended one other school; and twenty-five, if he attended two other schools. He bound

¹ Writing, April 26, 1824, to Benjamin Rush, Jefferson said, "We still have an eye on Mr. Blaettermann for the professor of Modern Languages, and Mr. Gilmer is instructed to engage him, if no very material objection to him may have arisen unknown to us." In 1835, Blaettermann was paid only one thousand dollars as his fixed salary while all the other professors engaged in the beginning continued to receive fifteen hundred dollars.

himself to follow no additional calling during the period of his engagement.

Gilmer set out from London for Cambridge on June 22, carrying with him such letters of introduction as he had been successful in obtaining; and on arriving there, found that the long vacation had begun, and that Dr. Davy was absent. He filled up the interval before the latter's return with an endeavor to decide whether it would be wise to engage the scientific professors among the fellows of this University; and he finally concluded that only incumbents for the chairs of mathematics and natural philosophy should be selected there, as small attention was paid in that institution to natural history. While busy pushing this vital inquiry, he was the recipient of the warmest hospitality from the masters of the colleges and the undergraduates alike, to whom he was recommended, not only by his scholar's mission, but also by his handsome presence, pleasant manners, varied information, and cultivated mind. He was invited to occupy rooms in Trinity College, and dined almost daily in its hall. The original letters of Sir Isaac Newton, the manuscript of a portion of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the mulberry tree planted by the poet, his noble bust, and other memorials of literary interest, were shown him by the Bishop of Bristol in person. It was with a pleasant emotion of surprise that he noted among people of all ranks a genuine feeling of kindness for his own country.

Before leaving Cambridge, he visited several famous spots in its vicinity,— among them, the stately cathedral at Boston, standing on an eminence that rose to a greater height than the capitol at Richmond from a wide plain recently rescued from the fens; and also the church at Grand Chester, which was then thought to be the scene

of Gray's *Elegy*, from the belfry of which he heard, at nine o'clock, the curfew tolling across the fields "the knell of parting day." A little later, he was writing a letter to William Wirt from the room at Stratford in which Shakespeare was born. The lower floor of the house was, at that time, used as a butcher's stall; and so neglected was the great poet's fame in his native town that Gilmer had to inquire of half a dozen passers-by before he was able to find the grave.

From Stratford, he continued his journey to Oxford, which was now deserted, for professors and students alike had dispersed for the summer vacation. "I have seen enough of England and learned enough of the two Universities," he wrote from that place, "to see that the difficulties we have to encounter are greater than we supposed,—not so much from the variety of the applications, as from the difficulty of inducing men of real abilities to accept our offer. . . . Education at the Universities has become so expensive that it is almost exclusively confined to the nobility and the opulent gentry, no one of whom could we expect to engage. Of the few persons at Oxford or Cambridge who have any extraordinary talent, I believe ninety-nine out of a hundred are designed for the profession of law or the gown, or aspire to political distinction; and it would be difficult to persuade one of these, even if poor, to repress so far the impulse of youthful ambition as to accept a professorship in a college in an unknown country. They who are less aspiring who have learning, are caught up at an early period in their several colleges; soon become fellows and hope to be masters; which, with the apartments, garden, and 4, 5 or 600 pounds sterling a year, comprises all they can imagine of comfort or happiness."

An additional obstacle which Gilmer had to overcome

in securing competent men was the necessity, created by poverty, which forced the University of Virginia to assign several subjects to the same professor,—chemistry and astronomy, for instance, to the already laborious chair of natural philosophy. A second obstacle was the shortness of the vacation in that institution; and above all, the season at which it fell. In Oxford and Cambridge, all study ceased between July 1 and October 10. "If the heat is insufferable in England," he exclaims, "what must it be in our July, August, and September, when there is to be no vacation!" He admitted that, at this hour, he felt discouraged and depressed. "Whether I can find professors elsewhere in England is most doubtful; in the time (fixed by the Board of Visitors), I fear not. I shall not return without engaging them, if they are to be had in Great Britain or Germany. I have serious thoughts of trying Göttingen."

Leaving Oxford in this mood, Gilmer visited Dr. Parr in his home at Hatton. Parr was too infirm to be of service to him in securing the professors sought for, but was of assistance in preparing a catalogue of classical books for the library. From Hatton, Gilmer travelled on to Edinburgh, the city where his father had matriculated fifty years before, and where a brother had died from over-exertion in the prosecution of his studies. On the day of his arrival, he obtained his first glimpse of a tangible success in carrying out his mission. During his sojourn in Cambridge, he had been introduced in the rooms of the poet, William Mackworth Praed, to Thomas Hewett Key, who, at that time, was a student of medicine, after winning distinction in the academic courses of that University. Gilmer, subsequent to their parting there, invited him by letter to accept the professorship of mathematics. It was the favorable reply to

this letter which reached Gilmer in Edinburgh, and gave him a feeling of encouragement in place of the dejection which had so harassed him. Key confessed that, at the request of his father,—himself a physician in large practice,—he had determined to withdraw from the pursuit of pure science and literature. "Indeed," he added, "nothing but your liberal proposition would have induced me once more to turn my thought to that quarter. . . . I shall be happy, should I find it in my power to agree to your offer. The manners, habits, and sentiments of the country, will, of course, be congenial with my own. . . . Nor would it at all grieve me, in a political point of view, to become, if I may be allowed that honor, a citizen of the United States."

Although Key suggests in this letter that the final arrangement should be delayed until they should have the opportunity to talk fully and intimately together at his father's in town, he now submits a number of practical questions for definite answers which would assist him in deciding. What branch of science was he expected to teach? What duties to perform? Would he be entirely under his own or others' directions? How far should he have the right to control his own time? What was the existing state of the University as to government? What were the number, age, and pursuits of its students? Had Gilmer the authority to make a private arrangement? And would the expense of the journey to the University be partly met at his own charge? To these numerous and searching interrogations, Gilmer was able to return a prompt and satisfactory reply by letter. Key would be expected to teach the mathematical sciences by lessons or lectures, as he himself should prefer; he could only be dismissed by a vote of two-thirds of the Board; he could dispose of his time as he liked, provided that he

should follow no other calling that would be a source of emolument to himself; and he was entitled to such an advance of funds as would defray the expense of his passage to Charlottesville.

An interesting paragraph of this letter related to the number of students that would probably be in attendance the first year. The estimate of that number which Gilmer now gave was scrupulously honest, but it was so exaggerated, in the light of the reality disclosed within a few months, that it must have left a painful impression on Key in recalling it after his arrival in Virginia. Repeating Jefferson's sanguine prediction, Gilmer asserted that not less than five hundred would matriculate so soon as the doors of the University were opened to receive them; and he was confident that at least two hundred of these young men would enter the mathematical course. As each pupil would be required to pay a fee of twenty-five dollars at least, the amount that would accrue to Key from students alone would be five thousand dollars, and when the sum due from the University as a fixed salary, namely, fifteen hundred dollars, was added, the total would rise to the imposing figure of six thousand, five hundred dollars. As no rent was to be asked for the occupation of a pavilion,—which would have reduced this figure,—the prospect was well calculated to dazzle a young medical student like Key, who had been looking forward in England to a protracted period of impecunious probation.

So soon as Gilmer arrived in Edinburgh, he personally interviewed a number of persons who had been recommended to him in London. Among the first of these was Professor John Leslie, who had, at one time, been a tutor in the Randolph family, in Virginia. If Leslie had not since become a scientist of indisputable acquirements,

his letter to Gilmer would appear to be distinctly presumptuous and condescending: "I stated to you," he wrote, "that it appeared to me that even the temporary superintendence of a person of name from Europe might contribute to give *éclat* and consistency to your infant university. On reflecting since on this matter, I feel not averse, under certain circumstances, to offer my own services. I am prompted to engage in such a scheme, partly from a wish to revisit some old friends, and partly from an ardent desire to promote the interests of learning and liberality. I could consent to leave Edinburgh for half a year. I could sail from Liverpool by the middle of April, visit the colleges in the New England States, New York, and Philadelphia, and spend a month or six weeks at Charlottesville. I should then bestow my whole thoughts in digesting the best plans of education, etc.; give all the preliminary lectures in mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry; and besides, go through a course comprising all my original views and discoveries in meteorology, heat, and electricity. Having put the great machine in motion, I should then take my leave to visit other parts of the Continent. But I should continue to exercise a parental care over the future of the university, and urge forward the business by my correspondence. To make such a sacrifice as this, I should expect a donation of at least one thousand pounds, which would include all my expenses on the voyage."

Leslie's expansive offer, which was reported to the Board by letter, discloses upon its face that he was too costly a luxury to be in the reach of a poorly endowed university, still in its swaddling clothes. Gilmer, for some days, cherished the hope that he would be able to secure the talents of Professor Buchanan for the chair of natural philosophy and chemistry, two courses which

he soon found it necessary to unite under one instructor. Buchanan objected to a session prolonged through the entire summer, on account both of the heat and the obstacle which it would create to his revisiting his native country at the only season when it would be convenient for his British friends to entertain him. He finally declined the invitation; and so did Dr. Craigie, who was offered the chair of anatomy, for which he was extraordinarily well equipped. It is not a cause for surprise to find that Gilmer was disposed to feel somewhat bitter over his failures. "When I saw needy young men," he wrote Jefferson afterwards, "living miserably up ten or twelve stories, in that wretched climate of Edinbrough, reluctant to join us, I did not know where we could expect to raise recruits."

It seems, however, that not all the scholars were so impoverished. The pedagogic calling in Scotland had become lucrative. "Even the Greek professor at Glasgow, Leslie tells me," Gilmer wrote in the letter just quoted, "receives fifteen hundred guineas a year. Some of the lecturers here receive above four thousand pounds sterling. Besides this, we have united branches which seem never to be combined in the same person in Europe. . . . I have, moreover, well satisfied myself that, taking all the departments of natural history, we shall, at Philadelphia and New York, procure persons more fit for our purpose than anywhere in Great Britain. The same may be said of anatomy. . . . As at present advised, I cannot say positively that I may not be condemned to the humiliation of going back with Dr. Blaettermann only."

Socially, he found the city of the North quite as attractive as Cambridge or Oxford. While there, he was entertained by the distinguished advocate, Murray, a kinsman of Lord Mansfield; and was also kindly re-

ceived by Lord Forbes, a retired officer of the army. The numerous acquaintances made by him were, he said, astonished to discover that he had been in Great Britain only six weeks or seven weeks, "and yet spoke English quite as well as they, to say the least. I believe many of them, on both sides the Tweed, would give a good deal for my accent and articulation, which, I assure you, are nothing improved by this raw climate, which makes every one hoarse." Gilmer had an opportunity to be introduced to Jeffrey, and so pleasing was the impression which he made upon that celebrated critic, his wife, and the members of their particular coterie, that he was pronounced by them to be the most winning and popular American who had ever visited Edinburgh.

XVIII. *The Mission to England, Continued*

Gilmer stopped with Key in London, and through Key, he was brought into communication by letter with George Long, then about twenty-four years of age, a fellow of Trinity. To Long, he made precisely the same general offer which he had submitted to Key. Long's reply was at once that of a scholar and a man of business: it was sensible, candid, and straight-forward. The peculiar circumstances of his situation, he began, induced him to throw off all reserve. He had lost both his father and mother, and also a considerable property in the West Indies, which he had relied upon to yield him an easy and permanent income. Upon his exertions were almost entirely dependent two younger sisters and a brother under age. He had been studying privately to become a member of the bar, with the expectation that it would afford a subsistence for these relations, as well as gratify his ambition to rise in the world. "Did that

part of America, in which the University of Virginia was situated," he inquired, "open up the prospect of his family obtaining a satisfactory asylum there? Were newcomers there liable to be carried off by a dangerous epidemic disorder? Were common articles of food, apparel, and furniture cheap there? Was the scheme of the University a permanent or experimental one? Would the fixed fee of fifteen hundred dollars possess any chance of doubling when the institution got fully underway? Was the society of Albemarle or Charlottesville so good as to compensate an Englishman, in some degree, for the only comfort which an Englishman would hesitate to leave behind him? What vacation would the professors be granted, and at what seasons? What would be the costs of the voyage, and who would defray them? What sort of outfit for it would be required?"

Such were some of the pertinent questions put by Long. "I have no attachment to England as a country," he concluded; "it is a delightful place for a man of rank and property to live in, but I was not born in that enviable station. . . . If comfortably settled, therefore, in America, I would never wish to leave it." Gilmer replied at length to this letter; and one week afterwards, Long, who had, in the meanwhile, consulted Adam Hodgson, a merchant of Liverpool familiar with Virginia, accepted the original offer.

In reporting Long's acceptance to Jefferson, Gilmer stated that there were two objections to him: (1) he made no pretension to knowledge of Hebrew; but as this study was little esteemed in England, it would require a search that would extend over at least another year, to discover a competent man for the chair of ancient languages, should instruction in the Hebrew tongue be pronounced indispensable: (2) as an alumnus of Trinity, it

would be necessary for Long to return to that college in July, 1825, to stand the examinations for his mastership of arts, the condition of his retaining his fellowship. Both of these obstacles to his appointment could be easily surmounted,—the one by leaving him, after his arrival in Virginia, to acquire the requisite acquaintance with Hebrew; the other, by giving him permission to be present at Cambridge at the time that had been assigned. In accepting the chair of ancient languages, Long stated that “he took it for granted that the professors were not compelled to subscribe to any particular religious principles, or aid in propagation of any doctrine or speculative tenets, about which sects differ.” “Allay your fears, I pray about religion,” replied Gilmer. “Far from requiring uniformity, we scrupulously avoid having clergymen of any sort connected with the University, not because we have no religion, but because we have too many kinds. All that we shall require of each professor is that he shall say nothing about the doctrines which divide the sects.”

When Gilmer submitted his original offer to Long, he also, by way of precaution, wrote to Rev. Henry Drury, of Harrow, soliciting his assistance towards filling the chair of ancient languages, should Long be unable to accept it. It will be seen from this that a clergyman's aid was not despised by him, but no offer of a minister of the Gospel to become a professor was seriously considered. On September 15, he wrote to Jefferson that he was in a position to engage the services of another most competent man for the ancient languages, but as he was a clergyman, he had turned his name down as ineligible. This was probably the person whom the headmaster of Shrewsbury School, Samuel Butler, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, had recommended; or

it may have been the brother of the Rev. Henry Drury himself, also a clergyman, who was warmly urged by the Rev. Henry for the chair, although he was honest enough, at the same time, to acknowledge that the Rev. Benjamin's principal reason for wishing to emigrate was that he was up to his neck in a slough of irremediable pecuniary embarrassments.

By the time Long's consent had been obtained, Key had also agreed to accept the chair of mathematics. Both Key and Long, it seems, noticed the disparity between the offer submitted to them in Gilmer's letters, and the one actually embodied in the contract which they were asked to sign. They raised the objection now, they said, so that there should be no room for dispute after their arrival in Virginia. "There is no doubt," wrote Key on September 27, "that I shall receive a salary of fifteen hundred dollars for the five years, independent of the fees. This is stated in both of your letters, but you wish virtually to reserve to the Visitors the power of diminishing this under certain conditions and limitations. I grant that this power is not to be enforced except at discretion, and for good reasons appearing to the Rector and Visitors. But it is still a power in their hand, which may be employed at their sober discretion, and independent of us. Now the limitation you put to the power of the Visitors is to restrain them from diminishing the fixed salary unless the whole receipts exceed twenty-five hundred dollars. But if the receipts will never be less than four thousand, and the Visitors have the power of diminishing the salary as soon as the whole receipts exceed twenty-five hundred dollars, is this not giving them an unconditional power of diminishing the salary? Ought not the limit to be at the very least forty-five hundred dollars. . . . I have just written

to Liverpool to take my place with the packet that leaves that port on (October) 16th."

The last sentence is a proof that Key had no intention of withdrawing from the engagement because of a supposed contradiction in the terms of the contract. Before this letter was written, Gilmer had been employed in the search for incumbents for the other professorships. "I have had more persons recommended for anatomy," he wrote Jefferson in August, "than for any other place, but immediately they find they will not be allowed to practise medicine abroad, they decline proceeding further." This difficulty, however, was finally overcome with the experienced assistance of Dr. George Birkbeck, the founder in Glasgow of the first Mechanics Institute, afterwards a prominent physician in London, and during many years, interested in the progress of popular education. Birkbeck suggested the name of Robley Dunglison, widely known already as a writer on medical topics. He accepted the anatomical professorship on September 5. On the same day, Gilmer visited Woolwich to talk in person with Peter Barlow, then an instructor in the Royal Military Academy, a member of the Royal Society, and a celebrated investigator in magnetism and optics. Barlow was absent; but afterwards by letter, readily agreed to assist him, and as the first step, promised to write to the son of a distinguished mathematical professor, whose name, however, he withheld. This person was undoubtedly Charles Bonnycastle, the son of John, who had filled the chair of mathematics at Woolwich with conspicuous ability and learning. As Bonnycastle was not in England at that time, for he was in the employment of the Government, Barlow wrote also to George Harvey, of Plymouth. But Bonnycastle was finally selected.

It seems that he had given bond for about five hundred pounds to the British Government, and this he forfeited when he accepted Gilmer's offer. He expected to cancel the obligation by an advance from the University, and there occurred some misunderstanding on this score between Gilmer and himself. Gilmer admitted in April, 1826, in a letter to Jefferson, that he had been compelled "to take Bonnycastle more on trust than the others," as he was anxious to close all engagements in time to get the professors overseas by November. He was under the impression that he had made no promise, in the University's name, to relieve Bonnycastle's sureties, but he declared that, should the Board of Visitors be unwilling to advance the amount, he would do so out of his own pocket. The money was, in the end, paid by the University in full. There was a somewhat furtive reflection on this professor's capacity in a letter which Gilmer received in January, 1825, from George Marx, the member of the banking firm which had honored his letters of credit in London: "I do not know whether it is my duty to tell you in strict confidence," he wrote, "that some opinion has been given me that Mr. Bonnycastle is not adequate to his situation." The conspicuous efficiency afterwards exhibited by him at the University of Virginia is a tacit refutation of this innuendo launched by some unknown and hostile tongue. "The son," said Dr. Birkbeck, "I am persuaded, will extend the fame of the parent. Had I entertained the slightest idea of his being in your reach, he would have been the first recommended."

By the nineteenth of September, Gilmer was in a position to report that he had succeeded in engaging four of the five professors sought for. It had been his expectation that he would certainly be able to embark for home

at an earlier date, but, said he, "At this season of the year, no man in England is where he ought to be, except perhaps those of the Fleet and of Newgate. Every little country school-master, who never saw a town, is gone, as they say, to the country; that is to Scotland, to shoot grouse, to Doncaster to see a race, or to Cheltenham to dose himself with that vile water. With all these difficulties, and not without assistance, but with numerous enemies to one's success (as every Yankee in England is), I have done wonders. I have employed four professors of the most respectable families, of real talent, learning, etc., a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a M.A. of the same University. Then, they are gentlemen, and what should not be overlooked, they all go to Virginia with the most favorable prepossessions towards our country. If learning does not raise its drooping head, it shall not be my fault. For myself, I shall return to the bar with recruited health and redoubled vigor. I shall study and work and speak and do something at last that shall redound to the honor of my country. My intercourse with professional and literary men here has fired again all my boyish enthusiasm, and I pant to be back and at work. Virginia must still be a great nation. She has genius enough; she wants only method in her application."

It only remained to procure a professor of natural history. By the advice of Dr. Birkbeck, Gilmer wrote to Dr. John Harwood,— at this time delivering a series of lectures in Manchester,— who, in his reply, on September 20, expressed regret that his engagements with the Royal Institution made it impracticable for him to consider the offer before the ensuing May. In the meanwhile, he intimated, his brother William Harwood, who had given instruction in natural history, might take the

place as a temporary stop-gap, or as the permanent incumbent, should it not be convenient for himself to leave England in the spring. A few days later, however, Dr. Harwood stated that there was an acquaintance of his in Bristol,— whose name he failed to mention,— who was well fitted by his attainments to assume the chair. This proved to be Frederick Norton. On the same occasion, he again recommended his brother William, who supported his claim in a letter over his own signature. “I confess,” he wrote, “that I shall have much pleasure in accepting the appointment provided that my qualifications may meet your approval. I have been long devoting myself to the study of natural history, but more especially to the branch, geology. I am not so familiar with natural history, but I flatter myself with a pretty good acquaintance with chemistry.”

Dr. John Harwood, in a letter which Gilmer received just before his departure from England, again revealed his desire that his brother should act as his stop-gap; and so anxious was William Harwood to assume this part, that he crossed to the Isle of Wight to talk with **Gilmer in person on shipboard**, only to be informed that it was too late for a written agreement to be drawn and signed; but he was advised to run the risk of going out to Virginia without a contract. To this suggestion, he very sensibly demurred. Frederick Norton arrived on the ground a few hours after the ship had set sail (October 5).

During the last week of his sojourn in England, Gilmer's time had not been altogether taken up with the pursuits of possible candidates for University professorships. Among the distinguished persons whom he met in general society was Thomas Campbell, who was interested in America from the association of at least one of

his poems with its scenery, and also from the presence of a brother there. Campbell was prevented from entertaining him at his own home by the mental condition of his son. Gilmer, on several occasions, dined with Major John Cartwright, the author of a laborious disquisition on the English Constitution, and a man of radical leanings, as proven by his sympathy with American and Spanish rebels, and by his advocacy of the reform of Parliament and abolition of slavery. He, like Dr. Parr, was more interested in suggesting a list of editions to be bought for the University library, than in proposing the names of possible professors. Dugald Stewart had been paralyzed in 1822, but he expressed the hope, in a letter dictated to his daughter, that Gilmer would sail from a Scotch port, as this would give the infirm old philosopher the opportunity to make his acquaintance. "I am sorry," he said, "to think that my good wishes are all I have to offer for his (Mr. Jefferson's) infant establishment." Dr. Parr was so much pleased with the young Virginian that he promised to "marry him in England without requiring the payment of a fee." In a letter to Gilmer only a few days before he embarked, he said, "To Mr. Jefferson present, not only my good wishes, but the tribute of my respect and my confidence. I shall write of him what Dr. Young said of Johnson's *Rasselas*, 'It was a globe of sense.' I use the same word with the same approbation of Mr. Jefferson's letter to me."

Gilmer, while in London, spent some of his leisure hours in Lambeth Palace Library, and became so much interested in the manuscript of John Smith's *History of Virginia* preserved there, that he had a copy of it written out for publication in the United States.

During his voyage to New York, he was entirely prostrated by seasickness, and in this unhappy condition, fell

into a raging and devouring fever aggravated by want of medicine, food, rest and attendance. "I am reduced to a shadow," he said, "and am disordered throughout my whole system." A carbuncle appeared on his left side and as the ship-doctor was too incompetent to lance it, he himself was forced to lay open the angry lump with a pair of scissors and with his own hands. "We had no caustic and had to apply bluestone, which was nearly the same sort of dressing as the burning pitch to the bare nerves of Ravillac. All the way, I repeated,

' Sweet are the uses of adversity.'

Such is the martyrdom I have endured for the Old Dominion! She will never thank me for it, but I will love and cherish her as if she did." After his arrival in New York, he was detained by illness during several weeks, but, as will hereafter appear, he was, in spite of his feeble condition, ardently interested in engaging a professor for the vacant chair of natural history, the only chair which he had been compelled to leave still unprovided for when he set out from England.

END OF VOLUME I

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